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Place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland



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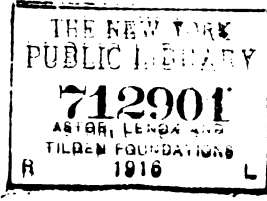
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THE PLACE-NAMES
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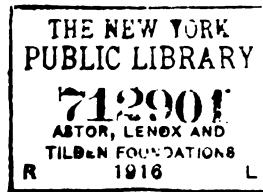
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PREFACE.

THE ideal investigator of the origin of place-names would combine a thorough familiarity with local configuration, a knowledge of local history based on study of original documents, and a mastery of phonological method. In the absence of such a combination, the work might conceivably be best undertaken by two or three experts working in harmony. Unfortunately the local historian or antiquarian and the philologist seem to be only too frequently in conflict. Books dealing with British place-names have been written in a good many cases with a bias towards the one or the other side. The philologists, ignoring local features and local history, sometimes put forward suggestions of origins of place-names which are ridiculed by the man on the spot, while many of the derivations advanced by the local antiquarian excite the scorn of the trained philologist. The fact of the matter is that the study of place-names is a very difficult and perplexing field of research. In attempting to elucidate the origin of the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland I have steered a middle course, ever keeping in mind the difficulties of the task. But though I began with some confidence, tempered as I hoped with caution, I have at the end to confess to a feeling of disappointment. Time after time it has been necessary to throw overboard a convincing explanation in the remorseless presence of a fresh early form. The present work may be compared to an edifice that has been built, then almost demolished, then re-built and altered in detail over and over again. An inspection of the word-lists at the end of the book will show how small a residue of fact remains as the result of the investigation.

Cumberland and Westmorland readers of this book may think that the allotment of space to the names has not always been in proportion to their importance in the eyes of natives. I would remind these readers that

my point of view is primarily that of the etymologist rather than that of the local historian. I am concerned with the name more than with the place. A place-name is after all just an ordinary word, once significant, and it must be investigated by the method applied to other words, the method of the Oxford Dictionary, and of modern etymological dictionaries. Yet, though the principles of linguistic analysis must be rigidly applied, at the same time the facts of local configuration and local records must be well weighed. If such facts had been cited in greater abundance the book would have been much larger; as it is, I may claim that such details have been considered wherever they bear on the origin of the names.

It has been a pleasure to find so keen an interest taken by Cumberland and Westmorland men in the names of their homes, and I gratefully acknowledge their help. More especially am I indebted to the Rev. Dr. James Wilson for the kind loan of part of the proofs of his forthcoming edition of the Register of St. Bees and for help with regard to several place-names; to Mr. Daniel Scott, of Penrith, who gave me some valuable topographical notes; to the Rev. F. W. Ragg, who supplied me with a number of early forms from MSS. of difficult access;¹ to Dr. C. A. Parker for notes on Gosforth and district; to the late Sir E. Anwyl and my colleague, Mr. E. T. Griffiths, for notes on Celtic forms; to another colleague, Mr. Waugh, for kindly copying out some early forms of names at the Record Office; to Mr. Harald Lindkvist for sending me some literature on Scandinavian place-names; and to Professor F. W. Moorman for advice and encouragement at the beginning of my task. But my greatest debt is due to Mr. W. G. Collingwood, who has from the first taken a keen interest in this book, and who from his unrivalled stores of archæological and Scandinavian lore and his intimate knowledge of local configuration and history, has furnished me with quite

1. These forms are indicated by the letters F. W. R. in brackets.

invaluable help. I cannot adequately express my indebtedness to him, but the occurrence of his name on almost every page of this book is sufficient testimony to the importance of his contribution. At the same time I am alone responsible for the use I have made of this contribution, a use which may, I fear, not always commend itself to Mr. Collingwood.

One word in conclusion. The Introduction has purposely been restricted in its scope, as there seemed no need to repeat information which has been already given in books on English place-names, especially in the matter of phonology. All names of towns, parishes, townships, villages and hamlets discoverable on Bartholomew's two miles to the inch map, in Kelly's Directories and in Bartholomew's Gazetteer have been included, together with a number of selected farm-names which seemed to throw light on the other names or for which early forms were to be found. Of other names only a few have been included.

MANCHESTER,
March, 1915.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Historical.

WHEN, by whom, and under what conditions were the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland given? Before we can attempt to answer these questions we must examine both the external and the internal evidence.

References in early English annals to Cumberland and Westmorland are of the scantiest, and may be summarised in a few sentences. We learn that in the seventh and eighth centuries Cumbria, which in boundaries and extent nearly corresponded to the two modern counties, belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria, and we may infer that it had a mixed population of British and Anglian settlers. In the year 875 A.D. Healfdan and his Danish force is reported by the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to have destroyed Carlisle and laid the country waste; after which Cumbria ceased to be part of Northumbria. In the early tenth century Cumbria was under Welsh kings, and formed part of the British kingdom of Strathclyde, extending northward into Scotland and subject to the crown of Scotland. In 945 Eadmund, King of Wessex, laid waste Cumbria and granted it to Malcolm II, king of the Scots, on tenure of military service. The province thus became a fief of the English crown, but was outside the kingdom. About this time Cumbria would seem to have been practically in the hands of Norsemen, and all but independent of both England and Scotland. In the year 1000, according to Henry of Huntingdon, King Æthelred invaded Cumbria with a large army with a view to bringing it under English control, and slew a great number of the Scandinavian population. Nevertheless, the district continued to remain outside English territory until William Rufus,

in 1097, came to Carlisle, drove out Dolfin, its ruler, and made the land of which Carlisle was the chief town part of the English kingdom by constituting it an English earldom. It was not, however, until the end of the twelfth century that the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland assumed their modern boundaries.

Turning to the Irish annals and Scandinavian sagas, we learn that at the end of the ninth century the Vikings appeared for the first time in the Bristol Channel. They landed first in Glamorganshire, but, being repulsed by the Welsh, crossed over to Ireland, the wealth of whose monasteries was famed far and wide. The numerous Irish kings and chiefs, being ever at war with each other, could offer no effectual resistance to the invaders, and thus began the harrying of Ireland by fleet after fleet from Scandinavia, which lasted over a generation. The later invaders were Norwegians, the Finn-Gaill, or 'Fair strangers,' of the Irish annals. They pushed into the interior and set up kingdoms of their own, and it was not until the decisive battle of Clontarf, in 1014, that the Irish finally regained the mastery in their own land. The coasts of Scotland also suffered from incursions, while the islands were completely taken possession of and settled by Norwegians. For centuries they were counted as Norse colonies, a 'Norway beyond the seas.'

The archæological evidence¹ supplements that of the chronicles. Many crosses, gravestones, monuments, and ornaments have been unearthed in Cumberland and Westmorland, which point clearly to the early presence of Anglians of the same race as those of Northumbria, followed by Scandinavians, who, while imitating the Northumbrian patterns, introduced modifications peculiar to Scandinavian art. In its later stages this Scandinavian craftsmanship becomes more original and independent, but with signs of influence by Irish models. Archæological remains pointing to Scandinavian settle-

1. See W. G. Collingwood, *Scand. Britain*, pp. 198 ff.

ment even as early as the beginning of the tenth century are very abundant. They show signs of being Norse rather than Danish, thereby differing from Scandinavian remains found in Yorkshire and other parts of England. It is further found that very similar crosses, monuments, and ornaments occur round the coasts of Ireland, in the south-west and west of Scotland, in the Orkneys, Shetland, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. The design and workmanship of these remains are often of a high order. If we had no other evidence than that of the early chronicles we should form an inadequate conception of the part played by these adventurous and energetic sons of Norway, for we should imagine them continually and exclusively engaged in harrying and plundering the countries they visited. But the archaeological evidence enables us in some degree to correct this impression, as it bears witness to a degree of artistic achievement only possible in a settled population. We know, moreover, that some of the finest of the Scandinavian literature had its origin in the Norwegian colonies in Britain and Ireland.

The most complete and convincing evidence, however, for the existence of this Norse settlement, as well as for its extent and distribution, is furnished by the names which the Norsemen gave to the places where they settled. These names are to be reckoned by the thousand, and they show quite unmistakably that in the ranks of the Norse arrivals, forming a contrast with mere pirates or marauders, were emigrants who took up land in the new countries where they could get it or where it best suited them, and settled down to a farmer's life. It is not improbable, also, that a number of the formidable Vikings themselves, when it no longer paid them to plunder, joined the ranks of their more peaceful kinsmen. And to-day, nearly a thousand years later, the names these men gave to their farms and fields are, like old, worn coins, still in daily use.

We have no certain information about the date of this

peaceful settlement, but we may take it that the emigration of Norse farmers to the coastal areas of Great Britain and Ireland went on concurrently almost from the first with the plundering expeditions, and was in continuous and steady development until early in the eleventh century. It is further probable that there was some Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria even earlier than 900 A.D., apart from possible Danish colonisation. An indication of this seems to be found in the frequent occurrence in Norse place-names in Britain, especially in Cumberland and Westmorland, of the word 'beck' for a stream, in combination with words of distinctively Scandinavian origin. This word is hardly found in the place-names of Iceland, but was in common use in Norway before the colonisation of Iceland from Norway took place—that is to say, before the year 874. It is further probable that settlers came to Cumbria both directly from Norway and as offshoots from the Norse colonies in Ireland, Scotland, and the Islands.

§ 2. Evidence of Place-names.

Before considering in more detail the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland, with a view to learning what light they shed on the conditions of early settlement, it may be as well to try to form some notion *à priori* of those conditions. We may picture, then, a population of small husbandmen, chiefly Anglians, but with a not inconsiderable Celtic element, in occupation of the land extending inland from the sea-coast to the fells, from the head of the Solway Firth on the north to Haverigg Point on the south. It is unlikely that Norsemen arriving direct from Norway in the early tenth century would bring their women-folk or live stock with them. They would, on landing, if peaceably minded, either settle down on unoccupied, and therefore less fertile, land among the native inhabitants, or push through to the slopes of the fells, where they would be free to settle on what ground they pleased. It is probable, if we may

judge from parallel cases in modern countries to which emigration takes place, that the new arrivals would begin by helping the native husbandmen in farm work and earning enough, paid in kind, to enable them to start on their own account. They would also in many cases find wives among the daughters of the native farmers. With a cow or two, a few sheep, goats, and fowls a start could be made on their own bit of land. Whether the Norsemen dispossessed the native farmers, and to what extent, we have no means of knowing, but it is clear that such dispossession could only occur in the early days of immigration, when armed bodies of Norsemen might effect a settlement amid a population at first hostile. The children of these Norsemen would speak their mothers' language, English, first and best, but they would be able to converse with their fathers in the Norse language. Their English would be the more idiomatic and grammatical, but they would possess the Norse vocabulary of everyday life. The father would fix the names of things and occupations which had to do with farming, especially on the fells, where the conditions resembled those occurring in Norway rather than those of the coastal plains of Cumberland. The grandchildren would probably know hardly any Norse, but would speak English with a strong Norse element. Our Norse settler would support himself principally by the produce of his live stock, but would also grow some grain and green stuff where the soil permitted. He would name his fields, and his place would be called after him by his neighbours. The Norseman coming over from Ireland would be more likely to bring with him his family and his live stock and implements. He might even be a Christian, baptised by Irish priests, and his wife might be Irish. If long settled, or born in Ireland, he would be likely to have in some cases reached a higher level of culture than his cousin from Norway.

It should be borne in mind from the outset of our enquiry that the evidence furnished by the place-names

of Cumberland and Westmorland is not always as clear and decipherable as we could wish. The reasons for this will be set out later on.

The speech of the Scandinavian settlers had many words nearly identical in form and meaning with those of the Anglians, as will be shown by the following list of Scandinavian and Anglian words forming place-names in Cumberland and Westmorland :—

O.E.	O.N.	O.E.	O.N.
æcer	akr	clif	klif
æc	askr	land	land
beorh	berg	lagu	logr
birce	björk	lang	langr
blæc	blakkr	micel	mikill
blāc	bleikr	middel	meðal
brād	breiðr	mór	mór
brycg	bryggja	mos	mosi
burna	brunnr	mylen	mylna
burh	borg	næs	nes
cald	kaldr	norð	norðr
cirice	kirkja	ofer	ofarr
clif	klif	oxa	uxi
cnæp	knappr	pól	pollr
cott	kot	racu	rák
dæl	dalr	rāw	rá
dic	dfki	sand	sandr
æc	eik	sceaga	skógr
eg	ey	sic	sík
fenn	fen	scir	skírr
flēota	fljót	slēa	slá
galga	galgi	stæf	stafr
gār	geirr	stān	steinn
græf	gröf	stede	staðr
hæfn	höfn	stige	stígr
hām	heimr	stocc	stokkr
hōh	haugr	studu	stoð
hæsel	hesli	tūn	tún
heg	hey	þorn	þorn
hlið	hlið	þorp	þorp
hop	hóp	west	vestr
hrycg	hryggr	weg	vegr
hūs	hús	wic	vík
hwīt	hvítr		

From the above words a very large proportion of the total of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names is formed. The resemblance between the Scandinavian and the Old English forms must in reality have been even greater than would appear at a first glance if we bear in mind that the Anglo-Saxon form would belong to the Anglian dialect of the north of England and not to the speech of Wessex, which is usually taken as the standard for Anglo-Saxon. It is obvious that in the case of a place-name containing one or two of the above words it is often impossible to determine without further examination whether the name was in the first instance bestowed by Scandinavian settlers or by Englishmen. Where the first member of a place-name is the name of a person, a very common case, it is usually assumed that if this personal name is Scandinavian the second member may also be regarded as Scandinavian. Thus the first element of Angerton, Cumberland, is clearly the Scandinavian personal name *Arngeirr*, so we might conclude that the second member is not from the Old English *tūn* but from the Old Norse *tún*, which is equivalent to saying that the name was given by a Scandinavian settler rather than by an English one. At the same time, the possibility is not excluded that the name was given by English neighbours to a Norseman's farm. Anyhow, the net result is that the place-name bears witness to a Scandinavian settlement. On the other hand, the first element of Alston seems to be the Old English personal name *Aldwine*, so that we may put the name down as English. Unfortunately, there are many cases where the same personal name occurs in both Old English and Scandinavian, and also where a Scandinavian personal name has been Anglicised, so that we are often in doubt whether the place was called after a Scandinavian settler or after a man born in England and ranking as English, though bearing a Scandinavian name.

It is some satisfaction to know that a considerable number of the elements of Cumberland and Westmor-

land place-names are unmistakably either Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon. Among the former the chief are :—

bakki, barð, bekk, ból, brú, brún, bústaðr, bygg, bygging, búð, býr, eið, eng, erg, fjall, fjorðr, flata, flet, fors, garðr, gata, geil, gil, glenna, gnípa, grein, hest, hlaða, holmr, hröysi, hváll, hvammr, kaup, kelda, kjarr, klett, krókr, kross, lundr, lyng, melr, mýrr, rauðr, rjóðr, sætr, saurr, skáli, sker, skeið, skjól, skúti, slag, slakki, stakkr, stong, stod, svað, tjörn, tangi, þveit, varða, vaðr, vtk, viðr, vrá.

Among the unmistakable Anglo-Saxon words are *bere, bott, búr, ceaster* (orig. Latin), *clōh, croft, denu, feald, feld, ford, geat, healh, hēafod, hege, hryding, hyll, hýrst, læah, mere, nīwe, pearroc, pott, salh, soc, stapol, weall, well, wudu.*

In the above lists those words alone have been chosen which most probably occur in Cumberland and Westmorland place-names. It will be noted that whereas there are 28 Anglo-Saxon words, there are no fewer than 66 Scandinavian ones. This is a striking fact, pointing to a very extensive Scandinavian settlement over the whole area of the two counties, the Scandinavian names not being confined to any particular district. **But here a express caution is needed.** In the body of the present work the reader will find that the origin of a place-name element is usually referred to an Old Norse or an Old English word. But it must not be concluded from this that the name was necessarily first given to the place in the period when the Old English language, i.e., Anglo-Saxon, was spoken—that is, in the early eleventh century or earlier,—nor must it be taken for granted that the Scandinavian word had the exact form cited. In a very large number of instances the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland must have originated in the Middle English period, that is to say, after the beginning of the twelfth century. This especially applies to names of farms and hamlets. In many, perhaps most, cases it would be more strictly accurate

refer the elements, not to Old Norse or Old English words, but to the Anglo-Norse language spoken by the descendants of the tenth and eleventh century farmers, which in later times becomes the dialect of Cumberland and Westmorland. This mixed speech would naturally give rise to mixed names. But partly because our investigation is primarily an etymological one, and partly because our space is limited, we have given the earliest or 'standard' forms of the place-name elements as they would be given in an etymological dictionary. With this caution in mind the reader will be able to view the facts in their proper perspective.

§ 3. Distribution of Names in -ton, -by, -thwaite, -ham, -thorpe.

Among the numerous words entering into the composition of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names there are a few which by themselves alone account for an important percentage of the total number of the place-names of these two counties, as well as of the names of North Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. These are the Scandinavian and Old English *tūn*, and the Scandinavian *býr* and *þveit*, represented in place-names by the endings *-ton*, *by*, and *-thwaite* respectively. The English place-names containing these terminals have been submitted to investigation by a number of scholars, especially by the late Canon Isaac Taylor, by H. Lindkvist, and recently by A. Goodall in his *Place-Names of S.-W. Yorkshire*, with a view to ascertaining their relative incidence. As regards their occurrence in Cumberland and Westmorland, we will now give the results of our own investigation.

The terminal *-ton* is found over the whole of Great Britain, and is commoner than any other. The terminal *-by* is found in greatest numbers in the Danish settlements, especially in the Danelaw, but occurs sporadically throughout Great Britain, least frequently in the south. The terminal *-thwaite* is practically confined to Cumberland, Westmorland, the north of Lancashire, and the

south-west of Yorkshire, though some instances also occur south of the Humber. We will begin by considering the distribution of place-names containing these elements in Cumberland and Westmorland.

Of the places with names ending in *-ton* occurring in Cumberland, which, omitting about eight names of farms, are 60 in number, some 23 are found within four miles of the coast, and six are situated within seven miles. There are 11 lying round Carlisle, except on its west side; to the N.E. of Carlisle, at a greater distance, are seven more. Six are grouped to the W. and N.W. of Penrith. Alston stands by itself in the extreme E.; Embleton also stands alone in the W. near Cocker-mouth. In Westmorland, out of about 27 places whose names end in *-ton*, excluding names of farms, there are three main clusters: (1) Seven close to, and on the E. side of the Penrith—Brough Stainmore Road, round Appleby; (2) five S. of Penrith; (3) eleven S. and S.E. of Kendal. Orton stands by itself in the centre of the county. We see, therefore, that the distribution of names ending in *-ton* differs in the two counties in that those in Westmorland occur in groups to a greater degree than those in Cumberland.

Of the 50 names in Cumberland, not counting farm-names, ending in *-by*, nine lie to the E., N.E., and N. of Carlisle, one to the S.E., three lie to the W. of that city, five are close to the sea-coast, seven are within six miles of the coast, while 12 are grouped round Penrith, within a radius of about eight miles. In Westmorland there are some 15 places whose names end in *-by*, of which all but two lie close to the Penrith—Kirkby Stephen road, to the N.E. of Penrith. The absence of names in *-ton* and the occurrence of eight names in *-by* round Kirkby Stephen is striking, and no less remarkable is the absence of names in *-by* in the S. of Westmorland and the presence there of 12 in *-ton*.

Names containing the word 'thwaite' are common in Cumberland and Westmorland, but if we exclude names

of farms and fields there are not more than 33 in the former and 11 in the latter county. These names show no particular signs of grouping except perhaps round Keswick. They are found mostly on the fell-sides, very few occurring on the western plains of Cumberland. As criteria of settlement they are of less importance than names in *-ton* and *-by*, being often of comparatively late formation and applied to unimportant paddocks. Lindkvist notes the fact that in Domesday Book there are very few names in *-thwaite*. The name 'thwaite' is even to-day in use, whereas 'ton' and 'by' ceased centuries ago to be part of the living speech.

As regards names in *-ham*, so common in most other counties, there are only eight in Cumberland, five of which are near the coast. One, Sebergham, is in the centre, while two, Farlam and Addingham, lie towards the E. Westmorland contains but two names in *-ham*.

All the names in *-thorp*, five in number, occur in Westmorland, and are probably due to immigrants from Yorkshire.

Let us now look more closely at the place-names in *-ton* and *-by* occurring in Cumberland and Westmorland, and see if anything can be learnt from their distribution. As we have seen above, it is not easy to decide with certainty whether a name in *-ton* was originally English or Scandinavian. But of the *-ton* names occurring in Cumberland and Westmorland there is reason to believe that the majority have as their first element an Anglo-Saxon personal name. The fact that in Cumberland over 40 per cent. of the names in *-ton* lie near the coast would seem to indicate that these were among the earliest settlements made by a Teutonic race in the district, as the first settlers would have no need to go far inland. Compared with the names ending in *-by* near the coast, those in *-ton* occur in threes and fours, the members of each group, if groups they can be called, being separated from each other by a distance of two or three miles. On examination these names prove to be almost exclusively of Anglo-

Saxon origin. It is impossible to decide to what extent the places in *-ton* along the coast of Cumberland were settled by persons coming from over the sea or by those who came southward from Northumberland along the Roman roads viâ Carlisle. It is probable that these names are due to both classes of settlers. Penrith and Appleby would seem to have been *-ton* centres of Yorkshire origin, while the group in the extreme S. of Westmorland, where it will be remembered that there are no names in *-by*, must have come from Lancashire, or rather, if we divide them into two groups, both from Yorkshire, viâ Sedbergh, and from Lancashire viâ the border-towns Kirkby Lonsdale and Burton in Kendal.

Of the *-by* names in Cumberland and Westmorland it is to be noticed that no fewer than 19, or one-third, lie close to the main road which runs from Carlisle viâ Penrith, Appleby, Brough-under-Stainmore, and Kirkby Stephen into Yorkshire, where it is joined at Moor Cock Inn by the Sedbergh road. The inference is forced upon us that the men who founded these *-by* settlements were Danes from Yorkshire, *by* being a Danish terminal of place-names. The seven *-by* names round Carlisle may possibly be due to the same stream of settlers. A branch stream from Penrith may have settled Thrimby, ten miles S. of Penrith, and some six places to the W. and N.W. of that town, viz., Motherby, Soulby, Johnby, Lamonby, Ellonby, and possibly Castle Sowerby. The remaining *-by* names, all of them in Cumberland, and amounting to a bare quarter of all the *-by* names in both counties, are scattered sparsely along the coastal region. We might feel tempted to conclude that these places were settled by Danish arrivals from over the sea. But we must remember that *by* had probably by the eleventh century come to be regarded as a 'stock' terminal for names of farms and even of hamlets used by the inhabitants generally, of whatever origin; cf. the modern use of *-town* and *-ville*. This suspicion seems to be confirmed by such names as Ponsonby,

Moresby, Flimby, Crosscanonby, Allonby, Oughterby, Aglionby, Botcherby, Rickerby, and others, whose first members are personal names of Norman or even Low German rather than of Danish provenance. On the whole one gains the impression that the *-by* names are of later, in some instances of much later, date than the names in *-ton*.

§ 4. Words contained in Place-names.

None of the other elements of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names occur with anything like the frequency of the words just considered. It will be instructive to classify these elements under heads before commenting on them. No distinction is here made between Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Celtic words.

A. Nature-names.

(a) Mountains, hills, etc. : *bakki, barð, brant, brú, brún, careg, clif, cnæp, cnoc, cnotta, dūn, fjall, gnipa, hǣafod, hlið, hóll, hryggr, hváll, hvamms, hyll, kinn, klettr, melr, mór, næs, pen, sand, sker, skúti, stakkr, stān, svað*.

(b) Hollows, valleys, ravines, etc. : *clōh, cwm, dalr, denu, drag, geū, gūl, glenna, grein, hóp, klauf, slakki*.

(c) Forests, woods : *hyrst, lundr, skógr, þang, viðr, wudu*.

(d) Water, streams, pools, etc. : *bekkr, burna, fenn, fjorðr, ford, fors, hæfn, kelda, kjarr, *kreikr, lögr, mere, mosi, myrr, öfer, pott, rhyd, saurr, sik, slag, soc, stod, tjorn, vaðr, vik, well*.

B. Land under Settlement.

(a) Enclosures, fields, etc. : *æcer, clos, croft, eið, eng, erg, ey, fald, feld, flata, flet, garðr, gār, halh, hege, holmr, hryðing, intake, land, lǣah, mæd, pearroc, rjóðr, slétta, sundorland, tangi, þveit, völler, vrá*.

(b) Dwellings, farms, villages, etc. : *ból, búr, burh, bústaðr, býr, ceaster, búð, bygging, cott, hām, hlaða, hūs, sætr, skáli, skjól, staðr, tūn, þorp, veiðabúð?*

bryggja, castel, gálgi, geat, kirkja, mylen, weall.

(c) Landmarks : *brandr, kross, rá, stafr, stapol, stokkr, stong, studu, varða*.

(d) Artificial mounds : *beorh, haugr, hlāw, hröysi*.

(e) Roads, paths : *gata, racu, rák, skeið, stigr, weg*.

C. Miscellaneous

(a) Adjectives : *ald, blæc, blæc, blár, brád, brant, cald, cróked, east, fúl, græg, hár, hwit, lang, mikill, middel, neoðor, niwe, norð, ofarr, rauðr, skirr, svangr, west.*

(b) *hoggr, kaup, krókr, nunne, próst.*

(c) Trees, plants, etc. : *æppel, æsc, alor, björk, bráken, bygg, chwyn, einstapi, espi, hæsel, heg, lyng, salh, þorn.*

(d) Animals : *gös, hestr, kapall, mycg, oza, swalwe* (but these are perhaps used as personal names; *vide infra*).

On scanning the above lists one is impressed with the variety of names for what is apparently the same thing. For a hill, peak, or eminence there are something like ten names, not counting those of Celtic origin. For an enclosed piece of land there are many words, also for dwellings; while of words denoting some kind of landmark or boundary there are no fewer than eleven. A moment's thought, however, reminds us that these names are taken from two languages, and they were used for naming at different epochs. They almost certainly represented various shades of meaning. For example, it is extremely probable that of the field-names hardly two had exactly the same signification, at least when they belong to the same language. That the Scandinavian *holmr* came to mean much the same as the Anglian *halh* is quite likely, viz., a meadow, originally at the bend of a stream; but we suspect considerable differences in meaning between such words as *clos, croft, garðr, pearroc, þveit*, differences which are often still perceptible in modern dialect use. Take again the words denoting landmarks. It is not easy now to distinguish exactly between *brandr, stafr, stapol, stǫng, studu, súl*, for which the dictionaries give the meanings 'pole,' 'post,' 'pillar'; they probably denoted poles of different sizes, shapes and materials, and used for different purposes. In connection with these elements of place-names there is a further need of caution, in that the meaning of a given word at the time the name was first applied may not have been quite what it was in the stage of the

languages reflected in our dictionaries. This is illustrated by the Scandinavian word *þveit*, which originally meant 'something cut off,' 'piece,' not necessarily a piece of land; also by the Norse *holmr*, originally meaning 'island,' and then a portion of land higher than the surrounding plain and subject to isolation by floods. It is for this reason that a work like O. Rygh's Introduction to his lists of Norwegian place-names is of greater value for our special purposes than an ordinary Scandinavian dictionary, for he is able from a close study of the elements of Norwegian place-names to fix their meaning with precision. The same may be said with some qualification of Middendorff's *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch* and other similar studies. In looking through the classified lists given above we must bear in mind that the occurrence of some of the words in place-names is not certain, and the reader who is interested in any particular case might with advantage consult the Word-List B at the end of the volume, and also look up the place-names concerned.

One thing will doubtless strike a native of Cumberland and Westmorland who may happen to read these pages, and who expects that some specially interesting information may be won from a detailed examination of the place-names of these counties. He will be disappointed to learn that the evidence all goes to show that the Teutonic settlers of this as of other parts of Great Britain were men of the most practical and unromantic type. Both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians named their farms and fields, and even the prominent features of the landscape, either after themselves or after obvious characteristics. There is not, so far as we are aware, apart from Celtic names, a single place-name in Cumberland and Westmorland which is formed on any other principle. The list of adjectives used seems also to indicate an unemotional and unæsthetic outlook on the part of our forefathers. More than once we have thought ourselves on the track of something different,

something for which a pleasant theory could be spun, after the fashion of all the older investigators and more than one of the newer. But each time closer investigation has put matters in a 'dryer' light. Thus, for example, a 1291 form of Keisley, Westmorland is *Kifisclive*. This seemed to point to the O.N. word *kefsir* or O.E. *cefes*, 'mistress,' 'concubine,' as the first element of the place-name. Further search reveals the fact that Kefsir was an Old Norse man's name. Again, as long as investigators regarded the terminal *-ergh*, *-er* as derived from the Old English *hærg*, 'heathen temple,' they could write in an interesting way on survivals of heathen forms of worship in England. But the more correct derivation of this terminal from the Old Norse *erg*, itself a loan-word from the Celtic meaning 'hill pasture,' deprives us of another illusion. So too, Skelsmergh is better explained as 'The mountain pasture or dairy of Skelmir or Skjalmar' than as 'the devil's temple.'

Perplexity sometimes arises for the investigator with regard to the interpretation of the first members of place-names. Recent investigators of English place-names, who, it may be noted, are specially strong on the philological side, have shown a tendency, as compared with their predecessors, to derive a larger proportion of the first elements of these names from names of persons, in the case of both distinctively English and distinctively Scandinavian place-names. Against this view, which Mr. W. G. Collingwood¹ terms an 'epidemic of eponymitis,' it is urged, so far as names of Scandinavian origin are concerned, that the evidence of the *Landnámabók* goes to show that the majority of the places in Iceland² were named after natural features rather than after the persons who settled there, so that greater

1. In a private communication to the author.

2. It is necessary to distinguish between names of settlements, such as farms, villages, etc., and names of fields, meadows, etc. The latter class might well be derived in most cases from natural features.

moderation should be shown in deriving at least the names of Norse origin in the North of England from personal names. But this argument is weakened when we consider that the conditions of Icelandic settlement differed from those attending Norse settlement in the North-West of England and South-West of Scotland. In the first place, the latter settlements for the most part were effected much later than the former. Further, whereas the Norwegian settlers in Iceland found an unoccupied territory awaiting them, the immigrants to the North-West of England and South-West of Scotland, arriving in small bodies at a time during a number of years, found on their arrival a long-settled, if sparse, Anglian population, and would therefore be more likely to conform to the custom of naming places already prevailing locally. Now, we know from Anglo-Saxon records going back earlier than the Norse settlement in Britain that Anglo-Saxon names of villages and farms were in the majority of instances named after persons, though fields, meadows, and small pieces of enclosed land were frequently named from their position and configuration.

A few of the Cumberland and Westmorland place-names are evidently of Celtic origin, while some others, in the absence of an adequate explanation by English or Scandinavian words, are presumably Celtic.¹ It looks as if some of these names were of mixed origin, containing a Celtic and a Teutonic element. Such a mixture would point to a more intimate blending of the races than is usually admitted. In all probability there was, as has been already noted, a not inconsiderable Celtic, or

1. Such names are: *Arthuret*, *Blencarn*, *Cardew*, *Carduncock*, *Carlatten*, *Carlisle*, *Castle Carrock*, *Catterlen*, *Cumcatch*, *Cumcrook*, *Cumdivock*, *Cumrew*, *Cumwhinton*, *Drumburgh*, *Drunleaving*, *Dunclaw*, *Dunmail*, *Duridar*, *Gilgarran*, *Glencoyne*, *Kirkcambeck*, *Lanerount*, *Pennrith*, *Penruddock*, *Talkin*, *Tallantire*, *Troutbeck*, *Wampool*. *Probably* of mixed Teutonic and Celtic origin are: *Blencogo*, *Cargo*, *Carwhitney*, *Corney*, *Cumwhitton*, *Glenridding*, *Whinfell*. The Celtic element in English place-names calls for investigation by competent Celtic scholars.

Cumbrian, element in certain parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, and the speech of this element, while unable to influence the current speech of the Teutonic majority, might well have left its mark on the place-nomenclature.

§ 5. Personal Names in Place-names.

A glance at the Word-List A at the end of the volume will show that names of persons enter into a very large proportion of the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland, as indeed they do in the case of English place-names in general. In this custom of naming places after persons the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians were alike, and differed from the Celts. So far as we can judge, the personal names occurring in English place-names were the names of the settlers who lived in the places concerned, and not, except very occasionally, the names of kings and legendary heroes, as it was once customary to believe. This is another illustration of the practical nature of the Teutonic settlers as well as of their strong individuality and sense of ownership.

Our chief sources of the personal names used in England before and for some time after the Norman Conquest, which are those that chiefly concern us, are early charters, registers, Domesday Book, and other documents which are accessible in a printed form, having been edited, with indexes, for learned societies. Most of these names have been extracted and alphabetically arranged, with indication of their sources, by the late W. G. Searle in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, and by Erik Björkman in his *Nordische Personennamen in England* and *Zur Englischen Namenkunde*. These books save the place-name student an infinity of toil. Searle's *Onomasticon* contains, roughly speaking, some 20,000 instances of names borne by people living in England from about the seventh century to the twelfth. Though sometimes inaccurate and often uncritical, this work is of great value, as it supplies in each case a

reference by means of which any given name may be hunted up in the book where it has been printed direct from the manuscript, and if need be, in the MS. itself. Very many of these names occur only once, and a number have been included that may not be personal names at all. As a consequence we must beware of placing too much faith in a derivation based on a name noted by Searle as occurring once only in records. The names he cites are Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, German (High and Low), Celtic and possibly of other provenance, while many of them, occurring in a Latinised form, have been, sometimes incorrectly, Anglicised. A careful investigation is called for of the non-Teutonic names which were used in England in early times. Björkman's books are of a higher critical value than Searle's and are especially useful for the investigation of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names, as they cite only Scandinavian personal names occurring in England. Also of value are the numerous lists of early Scandinavian personal names compiled by Scandinavian scholars, especially O. Rygh's *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne*, which contains a list of the personal names forming elements of the place-names of Norway, with early forms. E. H. Lind's *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock fingerade Namn fran Medeltiden* is also a very full list. Armed with this apparatus, the student of English place-names can attempt an explanation of most of the names in which a personal name seems indicated as the first element. Indeed, the wealth of material is at times embarrassing, as in not a few cases two or even three personal names may be put forward with equal plausibility to account for a place-name. A glance at almost any page in the body of the present work will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. When we have ascertained to our satisfaction the personal name forming part of a given place-name we may without much harm put it down in its early or 'standard' form, provided we bear in mind that it had in many cases undergone some

change by the time the place-name was formed from it. Thus *Beorht-*, a prefix of many personal names, often became *Brix-*, *-wulf* became *-ulf*, *Æpel-* became *Æl*, and so on. Scandinavian names frequently underwent very considerable changes in England, as the lists in Björkman and Lind show, being Anglicised or in post-Conquest times even Normanised, at least by the scribes. Owing to the absence of quite early forms, *i.e.* pre-Conquest forms, and the consequent uncertainty as to the exact personal name concerned in a place-name, it is difficult to say whether Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon personal names predominate in the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland. There is, however, reason for thinking that in the names of farms English personal names predominate. Many of the farm-names of Cumberland and Westmorland are derived from either names of persons or family names. In the almost complete absence of forms earlier than the sixteenth century we need to exercise the greatest caution in trying to arrive at the origin of these names. In some parts of the two counties, especially in the Debatable Land, there was no settled population for a long while before 1600. The greater part of even the older places in this district do not go far back; for it was only in the sixteenth century that the Grahams and Armstrongs built pele-towers in the Debatable Land. Some places, such as Arthuret, Liddel Mote, Kirkandrews, etc., are ancient, but the country was too unsettled for farming, and the many little places which have arisen since the end of the Border wars cannot be derived from personal names of great antiquity handed down from early ages. There is every reason for believing that they have been founded and named since the reign of Elizabeth. Detailed knowledge of parishes goes to show that farms or hamlets with compound names ending in *-green*, *-wood*, *-head* (in some cases), *-close*, *-house*, *-thwaite* (in some cases), are of comparatively late origin. Many new farms were formed in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries under the abbeys, *e.g.* the parks and grounds of High Furness. While taking care not to confuse these with sites known to be older, we must bear in mind that there may be cases in which a very old name lurks in an apparently modern form, *e.g.* in the farm-name Brownelson, Cumb. With regard to the late settlement of the Debatable Land, Whellan, p. 626, apparently quoting Thomas Denton, says that "in 1688 there were only twelve houses in Longtown, built of turf or mud."¹

§ 6. Method of investigation.

It must be already evident that the study of place-names is attended by difficulties, and that the difficulties increase in proportion to the accuracy and conscientiousness with which the research is conducted. In the case of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names these difficulties are perhaps greater than for any other county of England, owing to the almost complete absence of forms earlier than Domesday Book. It will be well to explain briefly the method followed in the investigation.

Place-names are words which have, or once had, a quite definite meaning, and to arrive at their origin we have to follow precisely the same method as that which is employed by the etymologist. The first thing to be done is to search for the earliest recorded form or forms of the name. These forms are then arranged in the chronological order of their sources, the most convenient order, though not necessarily that in which the changes in the name may have taken place. This is so because it often happens that a later document gives an earlier form of a name than a much older document, having retained the spelling of a still earlier source which it has faithfully copied. In this way it occasionally comes about that charters dating from the twelfth, thirteenth and even later centuries, being copied from Anglo-Saxon originals, preserve for us more ancient forms than those found in

1. I am indebted to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for information relating to Cumb. and Westm. farm-names.

Doomsday Book. The latter usually show the Norman spelling of English names which have been taken down directly from the mouths of witnesses or jurors summoned by the Conqueror in every hundred and wapentake, and in the process of re-copying from the local inquisition-book for embodiment in the Exchequer Doomsday these unfamiliar names must have undergone considerable alterations at the hands of the Norman clerks. The Doomsday Book forms, however, are of value, for to the trained specialist they often reveal the local pronunciations of names, both of persons and of places, and show that these names had already to a very considerable extent altered in popular pronunciation as compared with the older recorded forms. Thus the personal names Wulfhere, Theodwulf, Eoforheah, Modgifu, respectively become Ulfer, Teolf, Euroac, Modeva. The Doomsday Book is also of value as a *terminus ad quem*; it provides, as it were, a cross section through the stream of development. For early forms of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names we are almost entirely dependent on documents written after the year 1100, as there are no Anglo-Saxon charters or other sources containing such names and the Doomsday Inquisition did not extend to these counties except in so far as small portions in the south were included in the North Lancashire and West Riding returns. Besides these serious *lacunæ* in the record there is a comparative scarcity of Middle English sources for these two counties.¹ Fortunately much light is thrown on the origin of their place-names by names of similar formation occurring in other counties, especially in the neighbouring districts of N. Lancashire and W. Riding, Yorks., early forms of which are comparatively abundant.

Having arranged the early forms of a place-name, we

1. Valuable sources of C. and W. place-names are the registers and chartularies of religious foundations, but these are not all printed. The New Series of the C. and W. Archaeological Society's Publications in which these sources are appearing, has proved a valuable aid in our investigations.

may in some cases determine its derivation at once and with certainty. But with only too large a proportion problems present themselves and our solutions must be put forward tentatively, without dogmatism. This is especially the case where there are no early forms in evidence and we have to make what is, after all, a more or less plausible guess. The investigator's chief reliance is placed upon the principles of phonology, in other words, the laws of sound-change applicable to the languages which enter into the composition of the personal and place names with which he is concerned. For it must be remembered that the written symbols, as in the case of ordinary words, afford us a record, often enough scanty and blurred, of a process of development of sounds into other sounds, of the appearance of new sounds, of the disappearance of others. The science of phonology is based on the assumption that changes in speech-sounds are with few well-marked exceptions unconscious, not arbitrary, so that definite tendencies appear and a definite order is observed. But in the study of place-names the application of phonological principles, otherwise an easy matter, is gravely complicated by an intrusion of the arbitrary, incalculable element, in the form of 'scribal errors.' These are only too familiar to the scholar in the case of Anglo-Saxon and Old Scandinavian texts. Here their rectification is often possible by a reference to the context; but in the case of a place-name of which we can find only two early forms which exhibit serious discrepancy, we have to suspend judgment until fresh forms turn up. Numerous examples of such discrepancy in spelling will be found in the present volume. This is hardly the place to set forth the details of the phonological method of investigating place-names; anyone interested will find full treatment of the subject in Wyld and Hurst's *Place-names of Lancashire*, the pioneer book on this branch of the subject. It may not be irrelevant at this point to remark that while the principles of phonology must be strictly observed in

the investigation of the origin of place-names we must beware of attaching undue importance to early forms of place-names collected from a mass of heterogeneous records as material for the investigation of phonological problems.

§ 7. Some difficulties of the investigation.

Some indication of the difficulties encountered in the course of our investigation has already been given. It may be of interest to mention some others.

We must premise that every place-name consists originally of either one or two parts or 'elements,' as they may be called. It consists of either a single personal name or common noun, or else of a personal name or common noun *plus* a defining word. The position of this defining word in the compound name thus formed depends on the language to which it belongs. As examples of place-names consisting of a single element we have Thorp, Lyth, Laithes, Garth, Kinmont; compound names are represented by Gamblesby, Bradford, Crossthwaite, Cumdivock, etc. Single names are rare, as it is of the essence of a place-name that it should be of practical use and therefore descriptive. The difficulty of deciding between a personal name and an adjective as the original of the first element of a place-name has already been touched on. Difficulties of another sort present themselves in connection with second elements. These, being in an unaccented position, have suffered in the course of centuries to a far greater extent than the first elements, and the course of sound-change involved has not been the same in the two cases. The result is that two or more words used as terminals of place-names tend to become confused, as we see in the case of *flet*, *feld*, and *fjall*; *lēah* and *hlāw*; *hēafod*, *sæt*, and *side*; *burna* and *brūn*; *vaðr* and *við* and some others.¹ Thus doubt arises as to the derivation of such names as

1. See R. G. Roberts, *Pl. Ns. of Sussex*, pp. xxii.—xxiv.

Bromfield, Eaglesfield, Stafffield; Rosley, Hartley; Annaside, Greenside, Armaside; Cliburn, Meaburn, Stainburn. This confusion is owing to the indistinct pronunciation of unaccented terminals of place-names, which would cause clerks and copyists to spell them in an arbitrary manner. Another common cause of change in the forms of place-names is what is known as 'popular etymology.' In many cases a place-name, originally fully significant, comes to lose all meaning for its users. It becomes, as it were, cut off from the main body of significant words in the language and is then extremely apt to assume the likeness of another, known, word, whereby in the minds of its users it recovers its status as a native, significant word. This process also takes place in the case of foreign words which are at first unfamiliar, as in the well-known examples of 'cray-fish' from the French *écrevisse*, and 'sparrow-grass,' a variant of 'asparagus.' Place-names have suffered in a special degree from this proclivity of uneducated speech-users, as the following names among others from Cumberland and Westmorland will show, if the reader will trouble to look them up: Beaumont, Wheelbarrow Hill, Red Wing, Chapel Sucken, Grasmere, Coldcail, Solport, Buttermere, Owlhurst, Ravenglass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. Sources of early forms of Cumberland and Westmorland Place-names.

(a) MSS.

A considerable number of Rolls were looked through at the Record Office, London, including Feet of Fines, Rentals and Surveys, Ministers' Accounts, Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, and others. The results, however, were not such as to justify the time spent, the greater part of the writing being indistinct, so that a very careful scrutiny in a good light by an expert in early handwriting would be needed in many cases.

(b) PRINTED.

We are almost entirely dependent on documents later than the eleventh century for early forms of Cumberland and Westmorland place-names, especially on the documents published by the Record Commission. Many early forms are yielded by old registers and chartularies, of which only a portion has so far been printed, while of the rest MS. copies are extant. The absence of indexes, however, renders the use of these copies difficult or impracticable. The work of editing the rolls has been carefully done on the whole, but mistakes in proper names, and especially names of places, occasionally occur. The identification of place-names has been conscientiously attempted by the editors, but not always satisfactorily effected.

N.B.—The abbreviations given below are those used in the body of the present work.

D.Bk. Domesday Book, ed. by Abraham Farley, 2 vols. London, 1783. Vols. III and IV ed. by H. Ellis for the Record Commission, London, 1816.

P.R. The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland for 1222—1260, ed. by F. H. M. Parker. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series, vol. xii, Kendal, 1905.

An English translation of the Great Pipe Roll for Cumberland and Westmorland is also published in the Victoria County History of Cumberland, vol. i, pp. 338—418.

Pat.R. Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1216—1485.

- Ol.R.** Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1227—1374.
- Inq.** Calendar of Inquisitions (from Hen. III).
- Ch.R.** Calendar of the Charter Rolls (1226—1326).
- F.F.** Pedes Finium or Feet of Fines, in the Abbreviations in Le Neve's Indexes. The F.F. for Cumberland up to the reign of Henry VII are printed in the Transactions of the Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Society, New Series, vol. vii, pp. 215—261.
- Plac.War.** Placita de quo warranto, Edw. I—Edw. III. Record Commission.
- T.N.** Testa de Nevill, sive Liber feodorum (Hen. III and Edw. I). Record Commission.
An English translation is also printed in the Victoria County History of Cumberland, vol. i, pp. 420—425.
- Ind.Loc.** Index Locorum, being Vol. I of the Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum; ed. by H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley. London, 1900.
- Test.K.** Testamenta Karleolensia, the Series of Wills from the Pre-Reformation Registers of the bishops of Carlisle (1353—1386), Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Society, ed. by R. S. Ferguson, 1893.
- Min.A.** Ministers' Accounts. Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, Nos. v, viii and xxxiv.
- E.Ch.P.** Early Chancery Proceedings. Ditto, Nos. xii, xvi, xx, xxix and xxxviii.
- Part.L.** Particulars of Leases. P. Record Office.
- Lan.R.** The Lanercost Register. Excerpts have been printed, e.g. in C.W.N.S. (vide *infra*).
- W.Reg.** The Register of the Priory of Wetheral, ed. by J. E. Prescott. London, 1897.
- L.S.** The Cumberland Lay Subsidy, ed. by J. P. Steel. Kendal, 1912.
- Rot.Orig.** Rotulorum Originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio temp. Hen. III—Edw. I. Record Commission.
- Gal.Rot.Ch.** Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum, 1803. Record Commission.
- R.St.B.** Register of St. Bees. An edition by the Rev. Dr. James Wilson is in the press.
- Furness.Ch.** Furness Coucher Book, ed. J. C. Atkinson, 3 vols.
- C.W.N.S.** Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, New Series, in which charters, etc., are printed, containing early forms of place-names.
- N. and B. Cumberland.** By J. Nicolson and R. Burn. Two vols. London 1777. Contains many early forms from MS. sources now unavailable.

II. Works used or referred to in the present volume.

A. PERSONAL NAMES OCCURRING IN PLACE-NAMES.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED.

For abbreviations of titles of sources see Bibliography.

c.	-	-	circa, about.
C., Cumb.	-	-	Cumberland.
el(s)	-	-	element(s), i.e., part of a place-name, with a definite meaning of its own.
gen.	-	-	genitive.
hml.	-	-	hamlet.
m.	-	-	mile(s).
nr.	-	-	near.
O.E.	-	-	Old English or Anglo-Saxon.
O.N.	-	-	Old Norse, strictly speaking, the old language of Norway, but also used for Old Icelandic.
par.	-	-	parish.
pers-n(s).	-	-	name of person(s).
pl-n(s).	-	-	place-name(s).
poss.	-	-	possessive.
tn.	-	-	town.
tnsh.	-	-	township.
vil.	-	-	village.
W.L.	-	-	The word-list(s) at end of volume.
W.R.	-	-	West Riding.
[]	-	-	Square brackets enclose phonetic spelling.
<	-	-	derived from.
>	-	-	developing into.
*	-	-	An asterisk denotes a hypothetical form.

CUMBERLAND.

ABBAY TOWN. See Holm Cultram.

ADDINGHAM. Par. 6 m. N.E. of Penrith.

Adynham Tax. Eccles. 1291. *Addyngham* Cl.R. 1346.
Adyngham Test. K. 1358.

Hadyngham Test. K. 1353.

Addingham also occurs in W.R. Yorksh. The first el. is a pers. n., perhaps *Hadwine*. The second is O.E. *hām*, 'farmstead.' Compare Haddington, Lincs., and Addington, Lancs., which Wyld derives from *Addan*, the gen. case of the pers. n. *Adda*.

AGLIONBY. Hml. 3 m. E. of Carlisle.

Aglunby W. Reg. c. 1225. *Agelonby* Test. K. 1362.

Aglounbi Inq. 1292. *Agillonby* Cl. R. 1364.

de Aglyonby Cl. R. 1367.

The first el. is the name of a Norman family which possessed land here; see W. Reg. pp. 38, 83. A man named *Agyllun* is mentioned in W. Reg. c. 1195. For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

Aiken. S.W. of Bassenthwaite Lake.

This name could conceivably represent an old dative plur. formed from O.N. *eik*, 'oak,' equivalent to O.E. *ācum*, a preposition such as *on* or *in* having once preceded it. If this be correct, Aiken would correspond to Oaken, Staffs., if W. H. Stevenson's explanation of the latter name (see Duignan) be accepted. The name thus would mean 'among the oaks.' But I feel considerable doubt about this, as the farm house is at a high elevation where oaks would be unlikely to grow. A more probable origin is the family name Aiken.

AIKETGATE. Hm1. 2 m. W.N.W. of Armathwaite.

We may compare Aiket Castle, N. Ayrsh. The first el.

seems to be the same word as Aikhead, *q.v.* The second is O.N. *gata* 'road,' 'path.'

AIKHEAD. Hml. 1 m. W. by N. of Wigton.

Aykehefd Inq. 1285.

Aykheved Inq. 1366.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *eik* 'oak'; for the second see *hēafod* in W. L. The name thus seems to mean 'the hill with oaks growing on it.'

AIKSHAW. Hml. 5 m. S.W. of Abbey Town.

The first el. is O.N. *eik* 'oak.' The second is O.E. *sceaga* 'small wood.' 'copse.'

AIKTON. Hml. 4 m. N. of Wigton.

Ecton D. Bk.

Eyketon Test. K. 1354.

Aykton F. F. 1231.

Aikton Test. K. 1367.

Aykton Inq. 1237; Cl. R.
1288, 1346.

Acton Ind. Loc. 1572.

The first el. of this word is O.N. *eik* 'oak.' The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.' Aikton is the same name as the common Acton; but the latter may occasionally be derived from the pers. n. *Aca*, *Aki*.

Aimshaugh. Alston.

The second el. is either O.E. *halh* or *sceaga*; see W. L. The first may be a pers. n.

Ain House. Irton.

Originally called Thwaite End, as Dr. C. A. Parker shows from title deeds. Within memory it was called White Ain House.

AINSTABLE. Par. 4 m. N.W. of Kirkoswald.

Ainstapelid P. R. 1178.

Ainstaplid W. Reg. c. 1241.

Einstapeleth F. F. (Yorks.)
1210.

Aynstapellith Inq. 1292.

Ainstapellid W. Reg. c.

Aynstaplelith Cl. R. 1324.

1241.

Aynstapellyth Cl. R. 1335.

Lindkvist derives the first el. of this name from O.N. *einstapi* 'bracken fern,' of which he instances a Swedish form *enstapel*.

He cites the O.N. pl. n. *af Æinstapasætre* (1298), and thinks the Shetland pl. n. *Jenastabadal* contains the same word. The second el. is of course O.N. or O.E. *hlið* 'slope.' While not rejecting Lindkvist's derivation I would point out that the first el. seems orig. to have ended in *l*, as is shown by the doubling of *l*, and especially by the 1324 form above. This would be against deriving the n. from the O.N. form *einstapi*, and if the Swed. form *enstapel* be urged we may reply that it is very doubtful if any Engl. pl. ns. are derived from O. Sw. Another possible origin is either *Ægen-*, *Ein-*, short forms of a pers. name such as *Ægenwulf*, *Einulf*, or else O.N. *einn* 'one,' and O.E. *stapol* 'pillar,' block of stone,' occurring in Stapleford, Stapleton, etc. The name would thus mean either 'the bracken-covered hill-side,' or 'the hill-side with the single pillar, or Einulf's pillar.'

AIREY BECK. Nr. Matterdale.

Ayrath Inq. 1244.

Ayragh Inq. 1293.

Ayera Inq. 1459.

A deed of 1362, printed in C.W.N.S., xiv, 53, gives lands in *Ayragh* and *Ullayk*, owned by John de Derwentwater, to his daughter in marriage. *Ullayk* is Ullock in W. Cumb.; *Ayragh* has no modern successor there. Airey Beck was probably named after the family name of Airey, which is doubtless derived from the *Ayragh* above mentioned.

ALBY FIELD. Hml. nr. Cumrew.

Aldebi F.F. 1202.

Aldeby Inq. 1300.

Aldbyfeld Inq. 1485.

Prob. from O.E. *ald*, 'old,' and O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' But possibly the first el. represents either *Ald-*, *Eald-*, the first el. of many pers. ns., e.g., *Ealdred*, or else *Ælwold*, a form of *Ælfweald* (Searle); cf. Albury, Oxf. (Alexander).

ALDOTH. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Abbey Town.

Aldlathe Hol. Chart. 13 cent.

'The old grange,' from O.E. *ald* and O.N. *hlaða*.

Means 'the old granary.' The dial. word 'lathe' is from O.N. *hlaða*.

D

ALLERBY. Vil. forming par. with Oughterside, 6 m. N.E. of Maryport.

The first el. may possibly be O.E. *alor*, 'alder-tree,' but is more probably a pers. n. The name *Crosseby Ayleward*, which occurs in Inq. 1301, is identified by the editor with Allerby. If this is correct, the orig. name was *Ailuerd*, *Ailuuard*, from earlier *Æpelweard* (Searle). Ailward was father of the Dolfin who married Matilda, daughter of Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, and in all probability Ailward was the pre-Conquest owner of land hereabouts. John Denton (1610) states it as a fact that "Ailward seated himself at Ailwardby." For -by see *býr* in W.L.

ALLERDALE. In Cockermouth Union.

<i>Alredale</i> (forest) P. R.	<i>Allerdale</i> Ch.R. 1229; Inq.
1191.	1285.
<i>Auredale</i> F. F. 1195.	<i>Alredal</i> Ind. Loc. c. 1250.
<i>Alderdale</i> Min. A. 1265.	

We may compare Allerton (or Ollerton), Notts., an early form of which is *Alverton*. On the evidence of the Gospatric charter form *Alnerdall*,¹ Lindkvist considers the first el. of Allerdale to be the river Ellen, which flows through the dale, and thinks that the forms *Alredale*, etc., are due to popular association with M.E. *aler*, O.E. *alor*, 'alder.' If *Alnerdall* really is the modern Allerdale, it is possible that it is miswritten for *Aluerdall*, which together with the early form *Alredale*, would point to one of the pers. ns. *Ælfhere*, *Ailuerd* (*Æpelweard*), or *Alured* (*Ælfred*), as the first el. The letters *n* and *u* are frequently confused. The form *Alder-* is a normal development of *Alre-*, with epenthetic *d* between *l* and *r*, for which compare M.E. *alder*, *alper* for O.E. *ealra*; also Alderthwaite, W.R. Yorksh., from Allerthwaite.

ALLONBY. Watering-place $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Aspatria.

<i>Alemby</i> Ch. R. 1267.	<i>Alandby</i> Cl. R. 1323.
<i>Aleynby</i> Cl. R. 1274.	<i>Alaynby</i> Cl. R. 1348.
<i>Alayneby</i> Test. K. 1362.	

1. Printed in C. W. N. S. v, 71.

The first el. is from M.E. (Norman) pers. n. *Alayn*, *Aleyn*, which is prob. a late form of *Alwine*, earlier *Ælfwine*. For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

ALSTON. Tn. N.E. of Penrith, in the extreme eastern corner of Cumberland.

Aldeniston Ch. R. 1232. *Aldinston* Inq. 1254.

Aldeneston Cl. R. 1356. *Aldeston* Cl. R. 1296, 1353.

The original form would be *Aldwines tūn*, 'Aldwine's enclosure or field.' The name occurs also in Lancs. Wyld derives it, mistakenly, I think, from the pers. n. *Alla*.

ALSTONBY. Vil. 6 m. N. of Carlisle.

Astynby Inq. 1288. *Astenby* Cl. R. 1367.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Hásteinn*, which occurred in England in the form *Asten* (Björkman). The modern spelling may be due to confusion with Alston. For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

ANGERTON. Hml. N.E. of Newton Arlosh.

Angerton (manor) Cl. R. 1357.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Anger*, the O. Swedish form, accord. to Björkman, of the O.N. *Arngeirr*. The second is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.' Angerton also occurs in Northd. and Lancs.

ANNASIDE. Hml. nr. Whitbeck, close to the coast.

Aynerset F. F. 1241.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Einarr*; the second is O.N. *sætr* 'dairy farm.'

ANTHORN. Vil. 5 m. S.W. of Bowness.

Aynthorn Cl. R. 1289. *Aynthorne* F. F. 1399; Inq. 1336.

From O.N. *einn*, 'one,' and *þorn*, 'thorn-tree.' Thorn-trees are frequently mentioned in O.E. charters as landmarks. See Wyld, p. 391.

APPLETHWAITE. Vil. 2 m. N. of Keswick.

Appelthweit P. R. 1222. *Apilthuuayt* Inq. 1285.

Apeltweit Pat. R. 1232. *Apilthwayt* Cl. R. 1344.

Applethwaite also occurs in Westm. For the first el. see Appleby, Westm. The second is O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock,' 'piece of land.'

ARKLEBY. Hml. nr. Aspatria.

Arkelby, Inq. 1298.

We may compare Arkleside, N.R. Yorksh., and Arkleton, Dumfr. The first el. is *Arkil*, a Danish form of O.N. *Arnketell*, and once quite common in England (Björkman). The second el. is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

ARLECDON. Par. 6 m. E.N.E. of Whitehaven.

Arlochdene R. St. B. 12 c. *Arlokesden* F.W.R. 1255.

Arlauchdene R. St. B. 12c. *Arlokden* F.F. 1241.

Arlecden Inq. 1298.

The first el., judging from the 1255 form, is a pers. n.; the terminal seems to be O.E. *denu*, 'valley.'

(Newton) **ARLOSH.** Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Abbey Town.

Arlosk Hol. R. c. 1304.

ARMASIDE. Hml. nr. Lorton.

The first el. is perhaps the same as that of Armathwaite, *q.v.* The second el. is either O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'summit,' or O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm'; see W.L.

ARMATHWAITE. Vil. 10 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Ermitethwayt P.R. 1231. *Hermithuait* W.Reg. c. 1250.

Ermitethait W.Reg. c. 1230. *de Armthewayt* P.R. 1254.

de Ermingwith P.R. 1235. *de Hermingthwy* P.R.

Ermyngthait W.Reg. c. 1250. 1259.

Ermyngthait W.Reg. c. 1250. *Ermittwayth* Pat. R. 1317.

Armithwayt Test. K. 1362.

Armythwayte Pat. R. 1473.

The first el. may be *Eormen-*, which forms the first part of many O.E. pers. ns., e.g., *Eormenric*, *Eormenhild*. It might even have been used as a name by itself; see Searle p. xix. The syllable *-en* became *-ing* on the analogy of other pl. ns. in which *-en* represented the O.E. *-an*, the inflection of

the weak gen. sing.; cf. Abingdon from O.E. *Abbāndun*. With Armathwaite we may compare Ermington, Devon. In M.E. *e* before *r* was often written *a*; cf. Arminghall, Norf., and Armley, W. Riding, from *Eormenleah*, which occurs as *Ermelai* in D. Bk. (Moorman). Another possible derivation is M.E. *ermite*, 'hermit,' from O.F. *eremite*. With regard to this Dr. J. Wilson, editor of the 'Victoria History of Cumberland,' writes me the following note: "Armathwaite on Bassenthwaite, when first granted out, had no distinctive territorial name. It was described as consisting of 'one-twelfth part of the vill of Bassenthwaite in the western parts next the water.' The grantor was Alice de Rumelli, daughter of William Fitz Duncan, the great lady of Cockermouth, and the grantees were Ralf Hermetson and Alice his wife. The deed of enfeoffment is entered on Inq. P.M. 3 Edw. VI, File 88, no. 10. The date of Alice de Rumelli is 1190—1214. As the earliest forms of the name are Ermitetwayth and Ermethtwayt, early thirteenth cent., I do not think that Hermetson, the name of the first grantee, can be ignored. In addition to St. Herbert's Island in Derwentwater, I have met with Ermites Acre and Ermetts Close as field-names in that neighbourhood in rentals of the sixteenth century, as if reminiscent of the cult that once obtained in these isolated valleys." Lindkvist, without any comment, derives Armathwaite from O.W. Scandinavian *ermiti*, or M.E. *ermite*. On the whole, it seems to me that the forms in *Erming*-, *Herming*-, are older than those in *Ermite*-, as the latter would be more likely to develop (by popular etymology) from the former than *vice-versa*. At the same time it is quite possible that the change in the first element of the name was due to the residence of an actual hermit at this spot or in the neighbourhood.

Armboth. On W. shore of Thirlmere.

The second el. may be O.N. *búð*, 'shed,' 'storehouse'; the first may be the O.N. pers. n. *Arni*. But as Armboth was the 'wath' or ford before the bridge was made, the second el. may be *wath*, from O.N. *vaðr*. The first el. would still be a pers. n., but it would show *m* rather than *n*.

Armon House. [armōnt]. Eskdale.

Arnaby. Birker.

This seems to be the *Arnoldby* in Taxatio of Pope Nicholas 1292 (Beck, Ann. Furn.), from the pers. n. *Earnwulf*, *Arnulf*, for which cf. Arnside. The second is O.N. *býr*, 'farmstead.'

ARTHURET. Par. 8 m. N. of Carlisle.

Arturede F. F. 1202.

Arturet Ch. R. 1267.

Arcturet F. F. 1208.

Arthured Inq. 1299.

Arthureth Inq. 1243.

de Arturet Cl. R. 1302.

Artureth Cl. R. 1346.

Arthuret is usually thought to be the same as the *Ardderyd* or *Arderydd* where the famous battle of Welsh legend was fought. H. Barnes in his paper on the Battle of Ardderyd, C. and W. N. S. viii, 236ff., says the evidence connecting Arthuret with the site of this battle is 'very conclusive.' See also Skene, Celtic Scotland I, 157, II, 190; and Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 146.

ASBY. Hml. 1 m. N.E. of Arlecdon.

Essebi P. R. 1158.

Askeby P. R. 1226.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Aski*, or its O.E. equivalent *Æsc*. Ash- is very common as the first el. of pl. ns., in some of which it doubtless represents O.E. *æsc* or O.N. *askr*, 'ash-tree.' The form *Essebi* is a Norman spelling. Compare Asby, Westm.

Ash. Bewcastle.

Called 'The Eshe,' i.e., 'the ash-tree,' in the 1607 map of Nichol Forest.

Ashness. Borrowdale.

Eschenesbec Alice de Rumeli's grant to Furness, 1209-10.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Æscwine*; for -ness see *næs* in W. L.

ASKERTON. Par. 6 m. N.E. of Brampton.

Askreton Cl. R. 1295. *Askerton* F. F. 1255; Cl. R. 1346.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Asgeirr*, other forms of which are *Asgar*, *Asger* (Björkman). We may compare Askerswell, Dorset. This seems more likely than *askar*, n. pl. of O.N. *askr*, 'ash-tree.' For -ton see *tūn* in W.L.

ASPATRIA. Tn. $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Maryport.

Estpateric Pat. R. 1224.

Ascpatric Ind. Loc. c. 1230.

Aspatric F. F. 1233.

Askpatrik (manor) Ch. R.

1291; Cl. R. 1305.

Assepatrik Inq. 1303.

Aspatrick Test. K. 1357.

Aspatre Inq. 1491.

The second el. is the pers. n. *Patric*, which also occurs in Patterdale, *q.v.* The first is not at all clear. The current notion that Aspatria is derived from Gospatric,¹ the name of the earl who once held lands in Allerdale, is doubtful in the light of the early forms. The forms *Askpatrik* and *Ascpatric* seem to be the earliest. The form *Estpateric* looks like a 'popular etymology' based on an earlier *Espatric*, which would be a Norman spelling of *As(k)patric*. Ask- may represent O.N. *askr*, 'ash-tree.'

AUGHERTREE. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Uldale.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Ealhhere*; the second seems to be from O.E. *treow*, 'tree.'

AUSTHWAITE. Forms township with Birker, 6 m. N.E. of Ravenglass, nr. Boot.

Auesthwayt P. R. 1255.

Ostethwayte Inq. 1396.

Lindkvist is doubtless right in deriving the first el. from O.N. *aust*, 'east.' O.N. *au* generally becomes *ou* or *o* in M.E. For the second see *pveit* in W.L.

Baggarah. Nether Denton.

See next name.

BAGGROW. Vil. 2 m. E. of Aspatria.

This seems to be the same name as the preceding. The

1. Skene derives the name Gospatric from the Gælic *Gwas Patricius*, servant of Patrick, a form of which, *Quaspatricius*, occurs in Inq. 1247. This name occurred also in Waspatrik Wath, a ford which once existed over the Wampool, on the road from Thursby to Aspatria.

first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Baggi*. The second is either O.N. *rd*, O.E. *ræw*, 'landmark,' or O.N. *vrð*, 'angle,' 'tongue of land.' Compare Bagraw, Northd. Mr. W. G. Collingwood calls my attention to the fact that these three places are all on Roman roads. He suggests that it may be a Celto-Scand. loan-word.¹

BAILEY. Hml. 5 m. N.E. of Longtown.

Baylli Inq. 1242.

This name occurs also in Lancs. and elsewhere; see Wyld, *L. Pl. Ns.* The first el. of the Lancs. name, judging by the 1284 form *Baldele* cited by Wyld, may be *Beald-*, a prefix of many pers. ns. such as *Bealdwine*, *Bealdwulf*. But the Cumb. Bailey has a different origin. It is always called 'The Bailey,' and was the "district under the bailiff" of the Lord Warden; see N. E. D. s.v. I owe this explanation to Mr. W. G. Collingwood.

BAMPTON. Vil. 2 m. S.W. of Kirkbampton.

Bamton P.R. 1223. *Bampton* F.F. 1353; Cl. R. 1346, 1354; Test. K. 1362.

The name Bampton also occurs in Westm., Devon and Oxf. The first el. might come from the pers. n. *Beagmund*, or else from *Bana*. The second is O.N. or O.E. *tūn*; see W.L.

N.B.—The A.S. Chronicle has *Beandun* for the Oxf. Bampton; but we are not justified in concluding that this was the orig. form in other instances of this name. The *p* inserted between *m* and *t* has no etymological significance; compare 'empty' from O.E. *æmetig*.

BAR CLOSE. Hml. 1 m. W. of Scaleby.

BAREPOT. Hml. 1 m. N.E. of Workington.

See *pott* in W.L.

Barf Syke. Distington.

See *sik* in W.L. Barf may be the same as Barugh and

1. A. W. Moore, 'Surnames and Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1890), p. 241, states that in the I. of M. the word *baregarrow* means 'rough road.' In the absence of early forms one guess is as good as another.

represent O.E. *beorh*, 'hill,' 'mound.' For $f < [x]$ we may compare the North country dialect word 'bargham' or 'barfam' = horse-collar, from O.E. *beorg-* (beorgan); see E.D.D.¹

Barkbeth. N. of Bassenthwaite Lake.

Barkgate. Dockray.

See *gata* in W.L. The first el. of these two names may be the same word as Barrock, *q.v.*; or else it may be the O.N. pers. n. *Borkr*. It may be noted that Barugh, W.R. Yorksh., is pronounced 'Bark' [bārk].

Barrock Fell. Wreay.

Barrock Side. Hesket.

There is a Barrock nr. Thurso. The name *Matilda de Barrock* occurs in W. Reg., c. 1260-70.

Barugh. Ainstable.

This name also occurs in W.R. Yorksh., where the early forms *Berg* (D.Bk.), *Bergh* (1304), point to O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'hill.'

Barugh Syke. Waverton. See Barf Syke.

Bascodeyke Foot. Ainstable.

Basco- may stand for a pers. n. followed by O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.' Dyke or dike is fairly common in C. and W.; see *diki* in W.L. In some cases it denotes the entrenchment surrounding manor-houses in the 12th, 13th and 14th cents.

Bason Bark. Whicham. See Barkgate.

BASSENTHWAITE. Par. 7½ m. N.W. of Keswick.

Bastenethwait F. F. 1208. *de Bastingthwayth* Inq.

Bastingwait P. R. 1235. 1284.

Bastunlwait Lanc. Priv. *Bastentueyt* Cl. R. 1274.

Deeds, 1240-47. *Bastonthwait* Pat. R. 1303.

Bastanswayt F. F. 1255.

Bastenthwayt Test. K. 1358.

1. St. Bees Head is called *lez berghe* in R. St. B. 13 c. T. Denton in 1687 calls it 'the Barfa.'

We may compare Basten Hall and Bastonford, Worc. The early form of the latter n. was *Berstaneford*, which Duignan derives from the pers. n. *Beornstan*. Another possible origin for the first part of Bassenthwaite is the pers. n. *Beahstan*. A Cumb. pl. n. *Baxtonesperue* occurs in Cl. R. 1274. The syll. *-en* became *-ing* by analogy with the suffix *-en* < *an* (gen. sing.) which in pl. ns. is very frequently confused with the suffix *-ing*; cf. Armathwaite.

BEAUMONT. Par. 4 m. N.W. of Carlisle.

Begmund Inq. 1289.

Beaumont Test. K. 1365.

Beaumont Cl. R. 1346.

Bemond F. F. 1390.

In the Register of Bishop Halton, ed. Thompson, the Latin form *apud Bellum Montem*, anno 1296, occurs. This is a Latinised form of the Norman-French *Beaumont*, a common pl. n. But the early form *Begmund* could not possibly have arisen from *Beaumont*, whereas *Beaumont* might have been a Norman-French substitution for the pers. n. *Beagmund* (Searle), later *Begmund*.

BECKERMET. Vil. 2½ m. S. of Egremont.

Bikyrm P. R. 1188.

Beckirm Cl. R. 1294.

Bikerm P. R. 1190.

Beckerm Inq. 1298; Cl. R.

Bekerm F. F. 1241.

1322.

The first el., which is *bekkjar*, gen. sing. of O.N. *bekkr*, 'stream,' occurs in pl. ns. which are found only in Northd., Yorksh. Lancs., Chesh. and Lincs., where there was a large Scand. population. As regards the forms in *Bi-*, the short narrow *e* shows a tendency to be raised to *i* before certain consonants in closed sylls. at an early period; see Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gram.*, § 109. Moorman's explanation of Beckerm (s.v. Bickerton) as 'the meeting-place of the brooks' is supported by Lindkvist, who notes that the vil. is not far from the junction of two streams; he considers that the original form was the O.N. *mót* or O.E. *mōt*, which was changed by popular etymology to *mēt*, 'meeting.' There is, however, no recorded instance of *met* in M.E.¹

1. The second el. may be O.E. *mæd* 'meadow,' the *d* being unvoiced to *t* as in Breightmet, Lancs.

BEES. See St. Bees.

BERRIER. Par. 8 m. W. of Penrith; about 2 m. N. of the railway; there is also a hml. Berrierend, more to the E. and a Berrier Hill to the N.

Berhgerge P. R. 1166.

Berier Cl. R. 1348; Inq.

Bergher F. F. 1241.

1300.

Berriar Inq. 1459.

The terminal *-er* stands for O.N. *erg*, from the Gaelic, meaning 'cow-farm,' 'mountain pasture'; *q.v.* in W.L. The first el. is prob. a pers. n. Searle cites *Beriga* from an early charter. But it may be O.E. *beorg*, O.N. *berg* 'hill.'

BEWALDETH. Tnsh. 6 m. N.E. of Cockermouth.

Bualdith F. F. 1255.

de Bowaldif Cl. R. 1284.

Boaldith Ch. R. 1277.

Bowaldyth F. F. 1341.

Bowaldith Inq. 1295.

de Bowaldeth Test. K.

1380.

The first el. may be a pers. n. Rygh assumes the existence of a pers. n. *Balvaldr* from the evidence of Norw. pl. ns. The second el. seems to be O.N. *viðr* 'wood.'

BEWCASTLE. Vil. 7 m. N. of Lanercost. Here there was a Roman station, near the Maiden Way.

Buchastre W. Reg. c. 1178.

Buthcaster Inq. 1263.

Buchecastre Inq. 1240;

Botecastre Cl. R. 1274.

Ch. R. 1290; W. Reg.

Bochecastre Ch. R. 1277.

c. 1240.

Bothecastredall Inq. 1295.

Bothecaster Inq. 1263.

Bothecastell Cl. R. 1327.

Beuucastell Inq. 1485.

Prescott (W. Reg., p. 197 n.) says 'the name Bueth appears in other places in Gilsland, as *Buetholme* and *Buethby* (Regist. Lanercost, MS. iii, 8 *et al.*).' Bueth was the 11th cent. owner of this place. I can find no other instances of such a pers. n. The form *Beuucastell* is a late 'improvement.'

Bigert Mire. Ulpha.

Bigert may be the same as Biggards. For Mire see *mýrr* in W.L.

Biggards. Caldbeck.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *bygg*, 'barley'; the second is O.N. *garðr*, 'enclosed field,' 'homestead.'

BIGLANDS. Tnsh. in Aikton par.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *bygg*, 'barley.'

BIGRIGG. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Whitehaven.

Bigrig Inq. 1298.

For the first el. see Biggards; for the second see *hrygg* in W.L.

BIRDOSWALD. Pl. 6½ m. N.E. of Brampton, supposed site of Amboglanna, the eleventh station on the Roman wall.

Burdoswald Cl. R. 1295. *Borddosewald* W.Reg. c. 1200.

The first el. is of uncertain origin. The second seems to be the pers. n. *Oswald*, a very common one in O.E. documents.

BIRKBY. (1) Vil. 2 m. N.E. of Maryport, (2) hml. 3 m. S. of Ravenglass.

Britby Furn. Coucher.

The first el. seems to be the O.E. pers. n. *Beorht*, of which Searle cites the forms *Berht*, *Briht*. The modern form is due to 'popular etymology,' and is prob. derived from an early form with *Berht*- as the first el., which was confused with 'birk,' a birch-tree.¹

BIRKER. Par. 6½ m. N.E. of Ravenglass.

The first el. is prob. O.E. *birce* or O.N. *birki*; *q.v.* in W.L.; but see preceding article. The second is either O.N. *kjarr*, 'swampy ground with trees,' or else O.N. *erg*, 'hill pasture.'

BLACKFORD. Par. 6½ m. N. of Carlisle.

This name, like others in this district, may be modern. There is a Blackford in Somerset, and another in Perthshire. The first el. is perhaps O.E. adj. *blāc*, 'bright,' 'gleaming.'

1. Goodall explains Birkby nr. Leeds and Birkby nr. Northallerton, W.R. Yorksh., as 'the farm of the Britons,' the D.Bk. forms of each place being *Bretebi*. In my opinion their origin is the same as that of the Cumb. Birkby.

There is no reason to believe that it is from O.E. *blæc*, *blaca*, 'black,' though Blea Wath, Cumb., may be noted.

BLACKHALL. In Carlisle.

Blakehall P. R. 1209.

Blachale Cl. R. 1285; Ing.

Blachal P. R. 1231.

1216.

Blakhall P. R. 1232.

Blakhale Cl. R. 1307, 1343.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Blakkr*, *Blakki*, *Blaca*; the second is prob. O.E. *halh*, 'river-meadow,' for which see Haile.

BLACKWELL. Hml. 2½ m. S. of Carlisle.

This name occurs also in *Derb.*, *Dur.*, and *Worc.* The derivation is not so obvious as it seems to be. Middendorff cites no instance of O.E. *blæc*, 'black,' used with O.E. *well*, 'spring,' 'well.' Duignan, however, cites *blace wellan* from a 978 charter, given in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* Nor is O.E. *blāc*, 'white,' 'gleaming' cited by Middendorff in connection with *well*, yet *Blakewell*, Devon, seems to point to *blāc*; but may, like *Blake Beck*, Cumb., be derived from a pers. n. The fairly common pl. n. *Whitewell* is not to be regarded as evidence in favour of deriving *Blackwell* from *blāc*, as the first el. of *Whitewell* may be the pers. n. *Hwita* or *Hvitr*. On the whole, I am inclined to derive the first el. of *Blackwell*, Cumb., from the O.N. pers. n. *Blakkr* or *Blakki*. The second el. is not necessarily 'well'; it may have originally been O.N. *völlr*, 'grass-field,' which was likely to be confused with the common English word 'well.' There seems to have been a similar confusion in the M.E. forms of *Blackwell* or *Blackwall*, *Derb.*; see Walker, *Pl. Ns. of Derb.*

Blagill. Alston.

'Bleagill in Aldstonmore' occurs in a 1622 deed at Tullie House, Carlisle. The same name as *Blay Gill*. The first el. may be O.N. *blár*, 'dark-blue,' or else O.N. *bleikr*, 'gleaming,' 'white'; both used as pers. ns.

BLAITHWAITE. Hml. in Boltons par., 4 m. S.W. of Wigton.

Blaykethwayt Rot. Orig.

Blakethwayt Inq. 1349.

1349.

Blakthwayt Cl. R. 1370.

Blakethwayte Pat. R. 1467.

The first el. is O.N. *bleikr*, 'white,' 'pale,' which was probably used as a nickname of a person. Such nicknames were extremely common among Scand. peoples. For the modern form of the name we may compare the early forms, no longer identifiable, *Blaystanfit*, Cl. R. 1322, and *Blakestanefitte*, Cl. R. 1294.

Blake Beck. Mungrisdale.

Blake is here prob. a pers. n. *Bleikr*; see Blackwell.

Blease. Threlkeld.

We may perhaps compare Bleasby, Notts.

Blea Wath. Gosforth.

Blea may represent O.N. *blár*, 'dark blue,' 'dark,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Or it may be short for 'bleaberry,' which grows abundantly here.

BLENCARN. Hml. 8½ m. S.E. of Kirkoswald.

Blencarn F. F. 1211; Inq. 1254, 1288; Cl. R. 1290, 1345.

This name, like the others beginning with *Blen-*, may be of Celtic origin. We may note that *Blaen-* is a prefix of several names in Wales. Compare *Blencathara*, a Cumb. mountain 4½ m. N.E. of Keswick. It is possible that *Blen-* may be identical with the *Blind-* of *Blindbothel* and *Blindcrake*. At the same time it is also possible that *Blen-* in *Blencarn*, *Blencogo* and *Blencow* may be the pers. n. *Blæingr* cited by Rygh. The river *Bleng*, flowing into the *Irt*, may also be derived from this pers. n. The second el. of *Blencarn* may be Celt. *cairn*, 'heap of stones.'

BLENCOGO. Par. 4½ m. S.W. of Wigton.

de Blenecoghow R. St. B. *Blencogo* R. S. 1261.

c. 1190.

Blencogow Inq. 1292,

de Plenecogo P. R. 1195.

1341.

Blencoghow Inq. 1305.

Blenkoge F. F. 1444.

The terminal is O.N. *haugr*. The first el. will then be a pers. n., but I can find no name resembling it.

BLENCOW. Hml. 4 m. W. of Penrith.*Blenco* P. R. 1231.*Blenkove* F. F. 1292.*Blenkhaw* Inq. 1244.*Blencou* Inq. 1293.*Blencowe* Cl. R. 1346.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Blæingr*, the second is O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound,' 'cairn.'

BLANNERHASSET. Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Aspatria.*Blendherset* P. R. 1188,
1189.*Blenerhaisath* Inq. 1291.*Blennerhasset* Test. K.*Blennerheist* P. R. 1188.

1353.

Blenhersete P. R. 1190.*Blenerhaysette* Inq. 1285.*Blenerheysat* F. F. 1234.*Blenerhayset* Test. K.*Blenerheysat* F. F. 1238.

1369.

Blinenhaysete Ch. R. 1277.

A difficult name. Judging from several of the recorded forms, the latter part may possibly be from O.N. *hey*, 'hay,' and O.N. *sætr*, 'summer-pasture.' If this is correct, we may look for a pers. n. in the first el. Compare *Blennerhazel*. For the terminal forms *-hasset*, *-hayset*, etc., we may compare *Ughtrichassat*, an early form of Oughterside, *q.v.* The P. R. spellings *-heraset*, *-hersete* seem to be errors.

Blennerhazel. Gosforth.

Blenner- seems to be identical with the first el. of *Blennerhasset*. These two places are many miles distant from each other; but Dr. Parker tells me the house was built by the Coalbanks, who came from *Blennerhasset*.

BLINDBOTHEL. Tnsh. 2 m. W. of Cockermouth.*Blindbethil* Cl. R. 1286.

For *Blind-* we may compare a form *Blindekeldbank* occurring in Inq. 1300. It may be a pers. n. The second el. may be the same word as *Bothel*, *q.v.*, though the early form cited above does not support this derivation.

BLINDCRAKE. Par. 3 m. N.E. of Cockermouth.*Blanecreck* F. F. 1240.*Blenkrayk* Cl. R. 1362.*Blenckrayk* F. F. 1245.*Blencrake* Inq. 1485.*Blencrayk* F. F. 1249; Inq.
1294.*Blindcrake* E. Ch. P. regn.
H. VI.

For the first el. see Blencarn and Blencow. The second looks like O.N. *kreik*, for which see Greystoke; but Blindcrake is not on a stream.

BLITTER LEES. Vil. 1 m. S. of Silloth.

Bletterley and *Blatterless*. Valuation of Holm Cultram 1537.

Blunder Field. Kirkoswald.

Blundelfeld Inq. 1262.

Blundellesfeld Cl. R. 1274.

From the Norman pers. n. *Blondel*, orig. a nickname meaning 'fair-headed.'

BOLTON. (1) Par. 4½ m. S. of Wigton, (2) tnsh. 1 m. S.E. of Gosforth.

Boulton P. R. 1195.

Bowelton Min. A. 1265.

Bochelton T. N. c. 1220.

Bochilton Inq. 1285.

Boleton P. R. 1231.

Boilton Min. A. 1294.

Bothelton F. F. 1238.

Bolton Inq. 1298.

Boelton F. F. 1245.

Boulton Cl. R. 1324.

Bolton is a common pl. n. Wyld discusses the origin of the Lancs. Bolton, but can offer no convincing explanation. The D.Bk. form for each of the Boltons in W.R. Yorksh., is *Bodelton*. Moorman may be right in deriving the first el. in these cases from the O.E. *bold*, *botl*, 'house,' 'dwelling,' though it might be due to the pers. n. *Beaduhelm*, or to *Beaduweald*. But such early forms as *Bochelton*, *Bochilton*, *Bowelton*, in the case of the Cumb. Bolton cannot be due to *bold*, *botl*. We must here rather look for a pers. n. such as *Beagwulf*, *Bagulf*, *Beaghelm*, or *Beaghild*. For -ton see *tūn* in W.L.¹

Boonwood. Gosforth.

The first el. Boon- may be the word 'boon' which is, or was, commonly used among farmers in the N. of England to denote various kinds of voluntary or customary service given by a farmer to a farmer or to a landlord. 'Vast quantities of land in the N. counties, particularly in Cumb., are held under

1. For a discussion of the origin of the n. Bolton, see Goodall, P.N. of S.W. Yorksh., pp. 77, 78.

lords of manors by customary tenure, subject to the payment of fines and heriots, and the performance of various duties and services on the boon-days.'—E.D.D. Boon is O.N. *bōn*, 'prayer,' 'request.' There is another Boonwood in Distington.

BOOT [bōt]. Hml. 7 m. N.E. of Ravenglass, Eskdale.

This name does not appear on Saxton's map, 1610.

BOOTH HOLME. Nr. Ulpha.

Booth is a common pl. n. both by itself and in compounds. It is from O. Danish *bóð*, corresponding to O.N. *búð*, 'out-house,' 'shed.' In Scotl. and N. Engl. dial. a *booth* means 'a cow-house; a herdsman's hut,' E.D.D.; cf. the Scotch *bothie*. For Holme see *hólmr* in W.L. Mr. W. G. Collingwood thinks Booth Holme is named from the Booth family and modern.

BOOTLE. Vil. 4½ m. S. of Ravenglass.

Bottle R. St. B. early 12 c.

Botil Inq. 1297.

Botele F. F. 1254.

Botehill F. F. 1302; Cl. R.

Bottehale Pat. R. 1255.

1340.

Bothale Pat. R. 1258.

Bothill Test. K. 1357.

Bootle also occurs in Lancs. The derivation from O.E. *botl*, 'building,' given by Wyld, presents some difficulty, as Wyld himself admits. His assumption that the short *o* of *botl* became long in M.E. cannot be upheld; it would rather remain short before *tl*, just as O.E. *setl* becomes M.E. *sētle*. O.E. *botl* always occurs in pl. ns. as *Bottle*, e.g., Bottle Bank, Walbottle, Harbottle, etc.; see E.D.D. s.v. *bottle*. I prefer to derive the first el. of Bootle from the pers. n. *Bōta*, the *ō* of which would give [ū] in mod. Engl. The second el. is perhaps O.E. *halh*, 'river-meadow'; see W.L. This word is frequently confused by M.E. scribes with *hull*, *hill*, from O.E. *hyll*, 'hill.' At the same time, it is possible that Bootle is the same as Buttle, Westm., and may represent the O.N. pers. n. *Bótolf*r (Rygh), the long *o* being retained.

BORROWDALE. Par. 5 m. S. of Keswick.

Borcherdale, Lanc. Priv. Deeds, 1209-10.

See Borrowdale, Westm.

E

BOTCHERGATE. Par. in Carlisle.*Bochergate* Cl. R. 1363.

See next name.

BOTCHERBY or Botchardby. Vil. 1 m. E. of Carlisle.*Boschardebi* P. R. 1191.*Bucardebi* P. R. 1204.*Boscardebi* P. R. 1193.*Boschardi* P. R. 1244.*Bochardeby* P. R. 1203.*Bochardi* (vicus) Ch. R.*Bochardby* Inq. 1288.

1290; Test. K. 1366.

Burcardeby T. N. c. 1212.

Means 'the enclosure or farmstead of Bochard.' *Burgheard* is found in O.E. Charters in the forms *Burcardus* and *Burchard*; its Norman form was *Bochard*. The forms with *Bosch-*, *Bosc-* are peculiar to the Pipe Roll and seem to be errors in spelling. For -by see *býr* in W.L.

BOTHEL. Vil. 3 m. S.E. of Aspatria, on Bothel Beck.*Bothil* Inq. 1285.*Bothell* Inq. 1289.*Bothelacre* Cl. R. 1303.

The early forms are indistinguishable from some of those of Bootle. A possible origin is O. Dan. *bóð*, 'hut,' and O.E. *hyll*, 'hill.'

BOUSTEAD HILL. Hml. 2 m. W. of Burgh-by-Sands.*Bourstede* Cl. R. 1324.*Bourestede* Inq. 1485.

These two early forms do not enable us to decide what was the original form of the name. The first el. may be a pers. n. and the second el. is prob. O.N. *staðr*, 'farmstead.' Possibly, however, the name represents O.N. *búðarstaðr*, 'hut with some land.'

BOWDERDALE. Tnsh. in Nether Wasdale.*Boutherdalbeck* Cl. R. 1322. *Beutherdalbek* Cl. R. 1322.

Lindkvist, rightly, I think, derives the first el. from O.W.N. *búðar*, g.s. of *búð*, 'temporary hut, shed or building'; he notes the same name occurring in Iceland as *Budardal*.

BOWNESS. Par. 10 m. N. of Wigton.*Bounes* Cl. R. 1287. *Bownes* F. F. 1283; Test. K. 1369.

Bowness is also the name of a tn. on the E. side of Lake Windermere, of a hml. and crag on the N. side of Ennerdale

Water, and of a small peninsula nr. Bassenthwaite. The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Bolli*. Speed in his map has Boulnesse. For the second el. see *nes* in W.L.

BOWSCALE. Par. 9 m. N.E. of Keswick.

Bowscales Inq. 1485.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Bolli*. The second is O.N. *skáli*, 'mountain hut'; which see in W.L.

Brackenbarrow. Deanscales.

Barrow is O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.' For Bracken- see next name. Cf. Brackenber, Westm.

BRACKENHILL. Hml. E. of Longtown.

Bracanhill Inq. 1242, 1485. *Brakenhull* Inq. 1244.

The first el. may be M.E. *braken*, 'bracken fern'; but see preceding name. For the second see *hyll* in W.L. Brackenhill also occurs in Yorksh.

BRACKENTHWAITE. Par. 5 m. S. by E. of Cockermouth.

Brakeintweit P. R. 1223. *de Brakaynthwait* Cl. R.

Brakenthwayt P. R. 1230. 1300.

Brakanthwayt Inq. 1348.

There is a Brackenthwaite in Yorksh. and a Brakenthwaite in Lancs. The first el. is considered by Wyld and by Lindkvist to be the same word as 'bracken,' M.E. *braken*, O.N. **brakni*, Swed. *bräken*, Dan. *bregne*. I do not feel at all sure that this is correct. The forms *Brakeintweit* and *Brakaynthwait* cannot be explained by an early form of the word 'bracken.' The first el. is more probably a pers. n. and in support of this we may adduce *Brakenesthweit*, given by Wyld as an early form of Brakenthwaite, Lancs. Searle cites the pers. n. *Bracca* from an O.E. charter, but this n. would not explain *Brakeintweit* and *Brakaynthwait*. The early forms of Brackenfield, Derby., are exclusively variations of *Brakenthwaite*; see Walker, Pl. Ns. of Derby. Probably in some of the names in Bracken- a pers. n. has been confused with 'bracken.'

BRADLEY. Hml. 1 m. N.W. of Ousby.

A very common pl. n., generally derived from O.E. *brād*, 'broad,' and O.E. *lēah*, 'meadow,' 'pasture.' It is, however, possible that the first el. may represent the O.E. pers. n. *Brada*.

BRAITHWAITE. Vil. 4 m. N.W. of Keswick.

Braythwayt Inq. 1285; *Braythwait* Cl. R. 1292.
Cl. R. 1343. *Brathwayt* Cl. R. 1343.

Braythwaite occurs in W.R. Yorksh. The first el. is O.N. *breiðr*, 'broad,' and *þveit*, 'piece of land,' 'enclosure.'

Bram (or Brame) Cragg. Nr. Great Dodd.

Bram may possibly be the pers. n. *Bram*, cited by Nielsen.

Bramery. Ainstable.

Bramwra P. R. 1231. *Branwra* P. R. 1244.
Brangwra P. R. 1243. *Brambwra* Pat. R. 1399.

Lindkvist derives the first el. from M.E. *brame*, 'a briar or bramble.' It may, however, be a pers. n., *Brand*, O.N. *Brandr*, or else the Danish pers. n. *Bram*; or thirdly, O.N. *brandr*, 'pillar.' See next name. For the second el. see *vrd* in W.L.

BRAMPTON. Tn. 9½ m. E.N.E. of Carlisle.

Braunton Ch. R. 1252. *Brampton* Cl. R. 1295; Test. K.
Brancton W. Reg. c. 1200. 1357; F. F. 1371.

This name is common in various parts of England. Two early forms of the W.R. Brampton given by Moorman from Domesday Book have the spelling *Branstone*. D.Bk. has also *Brantune* for Brampton, Herts. The first el. may be the pers. n. *Brand*.¹ Skeat suggests this derivation for Brampton, Hunts. Or secondly, it may be O.N. *brandr*, 'post,' 'pillar' (Rygh). For the change of *n* to *m* see Bampton; it may have been due to popular confusion with M.E. *brame*, 'bramble.' For the insertion of *p* between *m* and *t* cf. 'empty' from O.E. *æmetig*. The explanation of Brampton, Derb., as 'broom enclosure,' given by Walker, is quite impossible on the

1. The early form *Brancton* of the Cumb. name seems rather to point to the same origin as that of Branthwaite, *q.v.*

evidence he cites, the early forms being chiefly *Bramton*, *Brampton*, *Branton*.

BRANTHWAITE. (1) Vil. 5 m. S.E. of Workington on the Marron, (2) hml. 3 m. S.W. of Caldbeck.

Brankethweit P. R. 1226.

de Brandweit P. R. 1228.

Branwhet Cl. R. 1234.

de Breinweyt P. R. 1242.

Brankenthweyt P. R. 1254.

Bramthwayt Rot. Orig.

1287.

Braynthwayt Plac. Warr. c. 1290.

Brampeweyt F. F. 1330.

Bramthwayte Inq. 1432.

Bramphthwayth Inq. 1439.

Brauncethwayte, Pat. R.

1471.

For the first el. Lindkvist suggests either the O. Dan. pers. n. *Bram*, or, as a more likely origin, M.E. *brame*, 'brier or bramble.' But neither of these names will account for every form given above. The earliest of these, phonologically considered, are, I think, *Brankenthweyt*, *Brankethweit* and *Brauncethwayte*, and *k* would easily drop out after *n* and before *p*. The *m* would arise owing to popular identification of the first el. with *brame*, 'brier,' and the subsequent insertion of a *p* in writing would be quite normal; see *Brampton*. On the whole I am inclined to suggest **Brandken* or **Brandkin*, a diminutive of the pers. n. *Brand*, cf. *Watkin*, *Tomkin*, etc., but I have not been able so far to find an example of such a diminutive.

Brantrake. 1½ m. N. of Devoke Water, Eskdale.

'Brant' is a N. country dialect word meaning 'steep,' 'high,' from O.E. *brant*. A 'rake' is 'a sheep or cattle path in mountainous country' (E.D.D.), from O.N. *rák*, *q.v.* in W.L.

BRAYSTONES. Hml. 3 m. S. of Egremont.

Breydestanes F. F. 1279.

Braistanes Inq. 1298.

Breithstones Cl. R. 1300.

Braystones Cl. R. 1322.

The first el. is O.N. *breiðr*, 'broad.' The second is from O.E. *stānas*, pl. of *stān*, 'stone.' There is a Broadstone in Dorset and a Bradstone in Devon.

BRAYTON. Par. with Aspatria.

Breyton P. R. 1255.

O.N. *breiðr*, 'broad,' perhaps used as a pers. n., and O.N. or O.E. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'farm.' For the Brayton in W.R. Yorksh., Moorman cites an eleventh cent. form *Braithatun*.

Breaks. Newton.

In the N. counties and E. Anglia a 'break' means 'a piece of ground broken up for cultivation or other purposes; a piece of unenclosed arable land,' E.D.D. Compare Haverbrack, Westm.; Breck, W.R. Yorksh. (for which see Goodall, pp. 82, 83), and The Brecks, Notts. We may note the pl. n. *Scamelbrec* in W. Reg. c. 1250.

Breckenbank. Cotehill.

Brecken is a N. country form of 'bracken'; see E.D.D.

Breconhill Rigg. Hethersgill.

Brecon- may be the same word as Brecon, a hill in Dumfr., or as in Brecongill, a hml. in W.R. Yorksh. It may mean 'bracken,' as in preced. name.

BRIDEKIRK. Par. 2 m. N.W. of Cockermouth.

Brudeskyrkfeld R. & S. 1259. *Bridekirk* Test. K. 1371.

This name occurs also in Dumfr. See also Kirkbride. It is derived from the old church of St. Bride or Bridget, O.N. *Brigīða*. The form *Brudes-* points to a fairly late origin, as it shows a masculine case-ending. Kirk is O.N. *kirkja*, 'church.'

BRIERY. Hml. 1 m. E. of Keswick.

de Beriery Cl. R. 1283.

BRIGHAM. Par. and vil. 2½ m. W. of Cockermouth.

Briggeham P. R. 1210; Pat. R. 1278.

Bricham T. N. circa 1212.

The first el. looks like O.N. *bryggja* or O.E. *brycg*, 'bridge,' a common el. in pl. ns. But there is no bridge at this point, nor any record of one, the vil. being nearly a mile from the Derwent. Perhaps the first el. was a pers. n., possibly the

O.N. *Birgir*, which, according to Rygh, occurs in the Norw. pl. n. *Brigsdal*, and which might have been confused with *bryggja*. There is a *Bridgham* in Norfolk. Generally 'bridge' forms the second el. in pl. ns. Moorman points out, W.R. Pl. Ns., p. xxxi, the absence of the word 'bridge' from the W.R. pl. ns. recorded in D. Bk.¹

Brightenflat. Kirklington.

Brighten- is perhaps the O.E. pers. n. *Beorhtwine*. For -flat see *flata* in W.L.

BRISCOE. Vil. 3 m. S. of Carlisle.

Byrkscawe P. R. 1231.

Birchawe P. R. 1253.

Brikscawe P. R. 1232.

Birkscagh Ch. R. 1290.

Briscawe Cl. R. 1348.

Briscoe also occurs in W.R. Yorksh. It means 'birch wood,' from O.E. *birce*, or O.N. *birki* and O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.' The latter word occurs frequently in pl. ns. as *Sceugh*, *Scough*. Its O.E. equivalent *sceaga* gives 'shaw' in mod. Engl. In the early forms of Briscoe the O.N. *skógr* seems to have had its vowel influenced by the English word. The metathesis of *r* is a common phenomenon; cf. mod. Engl. 'bird' with O.E. *bridd*.

BROCKLEBANK. Hml. 6 m. S. of Wigton.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Brocwulf*; see Wyld, *Lancs. Pl. Ns.*, p. 79, s.v. *Brocklehurst*. Compare also *Brocklewath*.

Brocklewath. 1½ m. S.W. of Cumwhitton.

For the first el. see preceding article; for the second see *vaðr* in W.L.

BROMFIELD. Par. 2 m. N. of Brayton.

Brumfeld W.Reg. c. 1150;

Brimpfhild Inq. 1285.

F. F. 1226.

Brounfeld Test. K. 1353.

Brunefeld F. F. 1245.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Brúnn*. The second is O.E. *feld*, 'field.' The form *Brim-* may be due to an umlaut-form **Bryn* of *Brún*, which would account also for such an

1. Mr. W. G. Collingwood draws my attention to the fact that *Brigham* is not far from the spot where the Roman road crossed the *Derwent*, and there may have once been a bridge there.

early form as *Brimhill* alongside of *Brunhill* for modern Brindle, Lancs. Before *f*, *n* normally becomes *m* by assimilation, and a *p* is then occasionally inserted, as in the early form *Brimpfhild*; cf. Brampton.

Brotto. N. end of Thirlmere.

The first el. may possibly be O.N. *braut* or *brot*, 'steep declivity' (Rygh). The terminal may be O.N. *haugr*, O.E. *hōh*, 'hill', 'tumulus.'

BROUGHTON. Vil. 3 m. W. by N. of Cockermouth.

Brocton F. F. 1208.

Brouton Min. A. 1265.

Brochton Inq. 1252.

Broughton Cl. R. 1286.

A very common pl. n. The first el. I take to be the pers. n. *Broc* (Searle). Wyld derives Broughton, Lancs. from O.E. *brōc*, 'brook,' and it is a possible origin for some of the Broughtons. But in Cumb. O.E. *brōc* does not occur in any pl. ns., its place being taken by O.N. *bekkr*. The orig. *c* [k] before *t* regularly became a spirant. Cf. Raughton Head.

Brownelson. 3 m. S. of Carlisle.

John Denton, who copied, c. 1610, from early sources, says that Henry de Dalston, whose son Adam is named in the year 1258, gave *Brownelston* to the priory of Carlisle. The names *Brunnelstand* and *Brunelstanebank* occur in Bishop Halton's Register, 1322.

This name stands for *Brunulfes tūn*, 'Brunwulf's field.' We may compare the surname Brownell.

BROWNRIGG. Hml. 2 m. N. of Abbey Town.

The first el. is either O.N. *brún* 'sharp edge,' 'cliff,' or else the pers. n. *Brun*. For -rigg see *hryggr* in W.L.

BRUNSTOCK. Hml. 3 m. N.N.E. of Carlisle, at some distance from Brunstock Beck.

Brunestach Inq. 1248.

Brimstath Inq. 1485.

Brunstayth Inq. 1299.

Bruneskayth P. R. 1253.

Brunstath Test. K. 1374.

Brunscath Inq. 1289.

Langbrunstath F. F. 1386.

Brunskath F. F. 1390.

A very puzzling name, which vividly illustrates the difficulties of place-name investigation. It seems to be, judging

by the early forms, identical with Brimstage, Wirral, early forms of which are *Brunstath*, *Brynstath*; see W. F. Irvine's paper on Wirral pl. ns. in Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, 1891—1892, p. 288. The only early form of these two pl. ns. which corresponds to the modern form is *Brunestach*. The second element of the name has evidently suffered at the hands of copyists, owing to the resemblance between the letters *c* and *t* in writing of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the evidence before us it is impossible to decide whether *-stach*, or *-stath*, or *-skayth* (*-scaith*, *-skath*) was the original form of the terminal. Assuming that *-stach* is not a misspelling of *-stath* or *-scath*, a case might be made out in its favour, for, as an unfamiliar word, it would easily be replaced in speech and writing by a familiar word, such as 'stath,' from O.N. *staðr*, 'farmstead,' or 'skeith,' from O.N. *skeið*, 'race-course' or 'field-path.' The modern forms, Brunstock and Brimstage, support this conjecture. But what does *-stach* mean? It may be identical with the terminal of Greystoke, *q.v.*, or it may represent O.E. *staca*, 'stake,' 'post.' The first el. is also a puzzle. It may represent (1) the O.N. pers. n. *Brúnn*, or (2) O.N. *brún*, 'edge,' 'cliff,' or (3) O.N. *brunnr*, 'stream.' No. 2 is inconsistent with the situation of both Brunstock and Brimstage. We have therefore a wide choice of meanings: 'Brun's farmstead,' 'Brun's field-path,' 'Brun's boundary-post,' 'the farm by the burn,' 'the field-path by the burn,' 'the post by the burn.' The early forms, *Brimstath* and *Brynstath*, show a change of *u* to *i* (*y*) which commonly occurs in pl. ns. containing the first el. *Brun*; it may be due to an umlaut (mutation) form *Bryn*; see Bromfield, Cumb., also cf. Brinsford, Staffs.; Brinsworth, W.R. Yorksh., etc.

Brunt House. W.S.W. of Wastwater.
See Bruntshields.

Brunt Shields. Bewcastle.

Brundscale Inq. 1242. *Bryndscale* Inq. 1299.

We may compare the pl. ns. Bruntcliffe, Bruntscar, W.R. Yorksh. (not in Moorman). Shields is the same word as

sheal, which occurs in dialect. It is the O.N. *skjól*, which means a 'hut on a hill pasture.' 'Scale' has the same meaning. See *skjól* and *skáli* in W.L.

BUCKABANK. Vil. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Carlisle.

Derived from an earlier Buckhowbank. Buck- is a very common first el. in pl. ns. It was no doubt a pers. n., such as *Buca*, *Bucca*. 'How' is O.N. *haugr* 'mound,' 'tumulus,' 'cairn,' 'hill.' Bank is common in pl. ns.; see *bakki* in W.L. *Bonk* occurs freq. in M.E. in the sense of 'low or small hill,' or 'slope.' The meaning would therefore be 'the slope or hill on which stood or stands Bucca's cairn.'

Bunker Hill. Tynehead.

Bunker may be a corruption of a pers. n. such as *Beorngar*, if it is not named after the famous battle.

BURGH-BY-SANDS. Par. on S. side of Eden estuary, site of a Roman station.

Burg Ch. R. 1265.

Burgh Cl. R. 1295.

From O.E. *burg*, *burh*, 'fortified place,' with the later meaning of 'walled town.' It is one of the commonest of all pl. n. elements, occurring as Borough, Bury, etc.

Burrell Hill. Skirwith. See next name.

Burrell Green. Great Salkeld.

Burrell is prob. a family name. A Roger de Burill witnessed a 12th cent. charter in Kendal neighbourhood, and later there were Borrells of Skelsmergh.

Burrens. A field at Papcastle on the Derwent, site of a Roman station. Cf. Borwens, Burrwain, Borren, Borrans, Westm.

Burter Gill. Warcop.

Burter is perhaps the pers. n. *Beorhtthere*. This name occurs also in Westm.

Burthinghurst. Nr. Burtholme.

The first el. may be O.E. *būrpegn*, 'chamberlain,' used as a pers. n.; cf. Distington. The second el. is O.E. *hȳrst*,

'wood.' The name may well be comparatively modern as the neighbourhood is full of post-Jacobean sites among older ones. Bardsley cites the surname Burtheyn.

BURTHOLME. Par. 3 m. N.E. of Brampton.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n.; for the second see *holmr* in W.L.

BURTHWAITE. Hml. 4 m. S. of Carlisle.

Byrthwait Inq. 1460.

The first el. cannot be determined from the evidence of this one early form. The second is O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock.'

Bustabeck. Raughton Head.

The first el. is O.N. *bústaðr*, 'dwelling place,' 'farm house'; for -beck see *bekkr* in W.L.

Butter Burn. Kingwater.

Butter Hill. Newcastle.

Butterilket. Boot.

Brotherilkeld Ann. Furn. 1242. *Brotherulkull* Taxatio

Botherhulkil D. of Lanc. 1292.

Charter 13 c.

BUTTERMERE. Par. N. of Buttermere Lake.

Buttermere F. F. 1230.

Buttermere Cl. R. 1343.

This name occurs also in Wilts. The element Butter occurs in the farm names just above, also in Butterwick and Butterbent, Westm. It forms the first el. of many pl. ns. in England, Scotland and Ireland. As Goodall points out, Pl. Ns. of S.W. Yorksh., pp. 88, 89, this element may not have the same origin in every instance. He thinks that in the case of names with English terminations Butter- probably comes from O.E. *butere*, 'butter,' whereas in names with Scandinavian terminations there are two alternatives, (1) the Scandinavian pers. n. *Buthar*, and (2) the plural of O.N. *bútr*, 'log,' 'tree-trunk,' 'stump of a tree.' In favour of a pers. n. we may note the form *Butheresdal* in F. F. 1223 (Westm.). The name *Boterus* occurs in D. Bk. The terminal, -mere, is O.E. *mere*, 'lake,' 'sea.'

Caber. Kirkoswald.

Kaberch W.Reg. c. 1240. *Caberge* W.Reg. c. 1252.
The same name as Kaber, Westm.; *q.v.*

CALDBECK. Vil. 7 m. S.E. of Wigton.

Caldbec W.Reg. c. 1175. *Caldebec* P. R. 1222; Ch. R.
Caudebech P. R. 1201. 1232.

Caldebek Gospatric's Charter, 11 cent.

Apparently 'The cold stream'; O.E. *cald* and O.N. *bekkr*. Compare Coldstream, Berw., and Coldwell, Heref. In the early form *Caudebech* the guttural *l* before *d* has become vocalised to *u*, a common occurrence; cf. Scottish 'aud' for 'old'; M.E. *feud* for *feld*, etc. The terminal *-bech* has been influenced by the O.E. *bæc*, 'brook.'

CALDER-IN-COPELAND. Pl. in Ponsonby.

de Calder P. R. 1179. *Caldre* Cl. R. 1294; Inq.
Kaldre Ch. R. 1231. 1298.

This place and Calder Bridge, Cumb., are named from the river Calder. Calder is the name of a number of places in Lanarksh. and Edinburghsh. The terminal *-der* may be the same as Welsh *dwfr*, Gaelic *dobhar*.

Calebrack. Caldbeck.

The first el. is either the O.N. pers. n. *Kali*, or O.N. *kál*, 'kail,' 'cabbage'; for the second see Haverbrack, Westm., and Breaks, Cumb.

CALTHWAITE. Vil. nr. Hesket.

Calvethweyt Forest Pleas 1285 (see C.W.N.S. vii, 21).

Calnethwayt Rot. Orig. 1347; Pat. R. 1380.

Calthwayt Rot. Orig. 1380.

The first el. seems to be the O.N. pers. n. *Kalfr*. The *n* of the 1347 form is thus an error for *u*, i.e., *v*; for the second see *pveit* in W.L.

Calva Hall. Dean.

See next name.

CALVO. Hml. nr. Holme St. Paul.

Light is thrown on this name by Calflow Pike, a hill 1 m. N.W. of Great Dodd. The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Kalfr* (Rygh); the second is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'barrow,' 'hill.' The form *Calveshon* (query, *Calveshou*?) occurs in W. Reg. c. 1256 as the name of a pl. nr. Appleby, Westm.

CAMBECK. Pl. nr. Brampton. See Kirkcambeck.

CAMERTON. Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Workington.

Camberton Inq. 1285; Ch. R. 1290; F. F. 1292.

Cambreton Cl. R. 1307.

This name occurs in E.R. Yorksh., and in Somerset. Camber- occurs in several pl. ns., e.g., in Camberford, Staffs.; Camberley, Surrey; and Camberwell, London. The first el. is possibly the pers. n. *Coenbeorht*; for the second see *tūn* in W.L.

Cannerheugh. Kirkoswald.

This name is *Kynuesheugh* in the 1523 foundation deed of Kirkoswald College; see C.W.N.S. xiv, 197. The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Cynegifu* (Searle). The second is either O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound,' or O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.'

CARDEW. Hml. 3 m. W. of Dalston.

de Karthew P. R. 1259. *Cardeu* Cl. R. 1359.

Carðew Gospatric's Charter, 11 cent.

CARDEW LEES. Hml. 2 m. N.W. of Dalston.

CARDURNOCK. Hml. at end of the Bowness peninsula, 4 m. W.S.W. of Bowness.

Cardrunnoke F. F. 1386. *Cardronok* Inq. 1485.

This looks like a Celtic name. It may represent *car*, 'fortified place,' and *dronach*, 'ridge of a hill.' We may perhaps compare Dornock, 3 m. E. of Annan, nr. the Scottish coast, opposite Bowness.

CARGO. Vil. 2 m. S. of Rockcliffe.

Kargho P. R. 1195. *Kargou* P. R. 1254.
Cargou Inq. 1286; Cl. R. 1303.

We may compare Cargo Fleet in N.R. Yorksh. The derivation 'Carg-how,' given by Nicolson and Burn, is probably the right one, but the meaning is not 'a craggy hill' as they explain it, but rather 'the mound on the rock.' We may compare Cargo Fleet, N.R. Yorksh. Still, Cargo is on a slight rise, about 50 ft. above sea level.

CARLATTON. Par. 7 m. S. of Brampton.

Carlatun P. R. 1186. *Karlatan* Lan. Chart. 1169;
Cornlatun Pat. R. 1220. Pat. R. 1237; Inq. 1292.
Carlauton Ch. R. 1242.

The first el. of this name may be Gaelic *carn*, 'mound,' 'pile of stones,' 'cairn.' The second element, *-la-* or *-lau-*, looks like the O.E. *hlæw*, *hlāw*, 'grave mound.' If these guesses are right, the name means 'the enclosure (or field) by the mound (or cairn).' For the assumed juxtaposition of a Celtic and an O.E. or O.N. word see Cargo and Carwinley.

CARLETON. There are four places with this name.

Karleton P. R. 1170. *Carleton* Ch. R. 1231; F. F. 1346.
 'The enclosure or farm of Carl'; from the O.N. pers. n. *Karli* and O.N. or O.E. *tūn*, *q.v.* in W.L.

CARLISLE. Chief town of Cumberland.

In the *Antonine Itinerary* of the fourth century A.D., preserved in two eighth century MSS., this ancient city bears the Latinised Celtic name *Luguvallum* or *Luguvallium*. In the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, written in the eighth century but based on much earlier sources, the city is called *Caer Ligualia*. Later British forms were *Caerluel* and *Carlued*; the modern Welsh form is *Caer Lewellid*. Simeon of Durham writes "Lugubaliam¹ quæ Luel vocatur" (before 1130). As to the origin of the Celtic forms, opinions are divided. Whitley Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 276, derives

1. Bede also has *Lugubalia*, Eccl. Hist. iv. 29.

the terminal of *Luguvallum* from the Celtic *vālo-*, 'wall,' cognate with the Latin *vallum*. The first el. *Lugu-*, which occurs in many pers. and pl. ns., e.g., in *Lugudunum* (Lyons), is considered by Celtic scholars to be the same as *Lugos*, the name of a Celtic deity. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Laud MS. anno 1092, the name of the city is *Cardeol*. In M.E. records we find the following forms!—

<i>Karlioli</i> (gen. case) W.Reg.	<i>Karleol</i> Pat. R. 1219, 1225.
c. 1100.	<i>Karlesle</i> F. F. 1279.
<i>Carduill</i> Ind. Loc. 1125.	<i>Karliol</i> Cl. R. 1370.
<i>Carduil</i> F. F. 1202; P. R.	<i>Karlisle</i> F. F. 1393.
1222.	

Carr Holm. Croglin.

From O.N. *kjarr*, 'copse,' 'swamp,' and O.N. *holmr*; see W.L.

CARWINLEY. Pl. 4 m. from Longtown, also a stream.

<i>Carwendelowe</i> } Inq. 1248.	<i>Carwindelawe</i> Ch.R. 1267.
<i>Kaerwyndlo</i> }	<i>Carwyndelowe</i> Inq. 1299.

The first element I take to be the Celtic *kaer*, *caer*, 'fort.' The second may be the pers. n. *Wendel*, which is found in Windsor, and in the early forms *Wendlesdun*, *Wendlesclif*, *Wændlescumb*, cited by Skeat, Berks. pl. Ns., p. 83. The last element is O.E. *hlāw*, 'mound,' tumulus.' For the mixture of Celtic and English cf. the explanation suggested above of Cargo and Carlatton. Carwinley would thus mean 'Wendel's cairn or burial-mound.' Cf. Windlestraw Law, a mountain in Peeblesshire. At the same time it is possible that Skene, Celt. Scot. i, 157, is right in taking Carwinley to be derived from *Caerwenddolau*, 'the town of Gwenddolau,' who, according to Welsh tradition, was one of the kings present at the battle of Ardderyd. See article by H. Barnes in C.W.N.S. viii, 236 ff.

CASTLE CARROCK. Par. 4 m. S. of Brampton.

There was a castle here which is freq. mentioned in old documents.

Castelkairoc P. R. 1209. *Castel Caurok* F. F. 1301.
Castelkairok W. Reg. c. *Castelcayrok* F. F. 1303.
 1235. *Castel Carok* F. F. 1356.
Castelkeyrok Pat. R. 1255.

Cf. Carrock Beck and Carrock Fell, 4 m. S. of Caldbeck. Carrock is Celtic; cf. Welsh *careg*, Gaelic *carraig*, 'rock,' 'cliff.' See also Cargo.

CASTLE RIGG. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Keswick.

Castelrich P. R. 1228. *Kastelrigg* Inq. 1293.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, who has carefully surveyed the ground and dug all likely places, tells me that there is no trace of a Roman or other fort here.

Castlesteads. Plumpton Wall.

Also known as Old Penrith. There are remains of a Roman station in the vicinity.

Catta. Ennerdale.

Searle cites the pers. n. *Catta*, *Catto*. The second el. may be O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound,' 'hill'; cf. preceding name.

CATTERLEN. Par. 3½ m. N.W. of Penrith.

Kaderlenge W. Reg. c. *Karterlen* F. F. 1226.
 1157. *Katirlen* Inq. 1249.
Katerlen P. R. 1201; Cl. R. *Katreleenn* Inq. 1294.
 1274. *Carterlyne* Ind. Loc. 1572.

We may perhaps compare Catterline, a vil. in Kincardineshire, and Caterham. Sur.

Chesters Mill. Beckermeth.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood thinks it possible that Chesters is here a surname, as there is no Roman fort.

CLATTERING FORD. Hml. 3 m. W. of Bewcastle.

Compare Clattering Briggs in Perthshire. See end of article on Cleator.

Cleamire. Westward.

For second el. see *mýrr* in W. L. The first may be O.E. *clæg*, 'clay.'

CLEATOR. Par. and vil. 5 m. E. of St. Bee's Head. To the N. is Cleator Moor.

Cleterhe Lancs. Priv.

Deeds 1201—1230.

Cletergh Cl. R. 1294; F.F.

1321; L. S. 1332; Inq.

1334.

de Cleter Cl. R. 1322.

de Cletre Test. K. 1358.

Cletter Inq. 1490.

Cleterne Inq. 1298, 1321;

Cl. R. 1322.

Cletern F. F. 1314.

Lindkvist derives Cleator from O.N. *klettar*, n. pl. of *klettr*, 'rock,' 'cliff.' He notes that the word occurs in Norwegian pl. ns., and compares the Scotch dialect word *clet*, which accord. to E.D.D. means 'rock or cliff in the sea, broken off from the adjoining rocks on the shore.' I am inclined to accept *klettr* as the derivation of the first el. but I cannot agree with Lindkvist's further statement that 'in the fourteenth century the final *-er* of *Cleter* seems to have been associated with and occasionally superseded by *-erg*, the Scandinavianized form of Gael. *airidh* 'an outlying pasture,' etc.' On the contrary, I consider the terminal *-erg*, *-ergh*, to be an original part of the name, as it occurs in the great majority of the early forms. The name thus means 'the outlying pasture among the rocks.' The form *Cleterne*, which is by editors of records considered to be identical with the modern Cleator, is difficult to account for, as it can hardly be a misspelling. It may have arisen through confusion with M.E. *terne*, 'tarn,' 'mountain lake,' O.N. *tjgrn*; or it may be O.N. *klettarnir*, a form of the pl. of *klettr*, accord. to Jakobsen; cf. *Kletterne* in Shetland. Perhaps, however, *Cleterne* is the modern Clattering Ford.

CLESKET. Hml. nr. Farlam.

Clough Head. Nether Denton.

Clough Side. Bewcastle.

Cleugh is another spelling of *clough*, M.E. *clouȝ*, 'ravine,' a word not represented in O.E., but with parallels in Frisian, Dutch and O.H. German. See Wyld, L. Pl. Ns., pp. 308, 309.

Clift House. Kirkclinton.

Clift is dialectal for 'cliff,' E.D.D.

F

CLIFTON. Vil. 5 m. E. of Workington. Great Clifton is on the Derwent.

Clifton P. R. 1204; Inq. 1285.

'The enclosure by the cliff.' From O.N. *klif* or O.E. *clif*, 'cliff,' 'steep hillside,' and O.N. *tún* or O.E. *tūn*.

CLOFFOCKS. Par. in the borough of Workington.

Fyt Cloffhou, a bounder cited by Whellan, p. 466.

The first el. may be either O.N. *klauf*, 'cleft, gap in a fell,' or else O.E. **clōh*, M.E. *clou*}, 'clough,' 'ravine.' The second is perhaps O.E. *hōh*, 'hill,' 'mound,' or O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'cairn.' The name may thus be the same as Clougha [klāfā] in Lancs., which is spelt *Cloghou*, *Clochehoc* in old documents (Wyld, L. Pl. Ns.). Pl. ns. often occur in the plural; cf. Ancoats, Coldcoats, Lancs.

COATE. Hml. nr. Holme St. Paul.

Probably O.E. *cott*, 'dwelling-house,' a common el. of pl. ns. as *cot*, *cott*, *cote*, *coat*, *cotes*, *coats*.

COCKERMOUTH. Tn. at the confluence of the Cocker and the Derwent.

Cockermouth Ch. R. 1227. *Cokermuth* Pat. R. 1253.

'The mouth of the Cocker.' Cocker occurs as *Cocur* in 930; see Raine, Hist. Ch. York and Archb., Rolls Series.

Cocklakes. Cumwhitton, cf. Cocklake, Westm.

Coklayk Furn. ch. 1279.

This name may be the same as Cockleach, Lancs.; for which see Wyld, L. Pl. Ns.. Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests that this name might be 'cock-laik,' i.e. 'cockpit'; 'laik' being a dialect word meaning 'sport.' He compares Leiksbálavellir, near Buðir, Snæfellsnes, mentioned in the *Egil-saga*.

Cockley Bank. Holme Eden.

Cockhall. Scaleby.

For the el. *Cock*, which occurs as first el. in a large number of pl. ns., see Wyld, L. Pl. Ns., p. 97 and p. 310. It may in

some names be the Scand. word meaning 'heap,' 'mound'; cf. Danish *kok*, 'heap.' In others it may be a pers. n. The second el. is perhaps O.E. *halh*, for which see Haile.

COPELAND FOREST. High moorland between Ennerdale Water and Wast Water. Coupland was the name of one of the original baronies of Cumberland.

Cauplandia Lancs. Priv. *Coplande* Pat. R. 1218.

Deeds 1135—1154. *Coupeland* Pat. R. 1225.

Caupilland Lancs. Priv. *Coupland* Ch. R. 1228.

Deeds c. 1240. *Copland* P. R. 1245.

The name means 'purchased' as contrasted with inherited land, from O.N. *kaupaland* = *kaupajorð*, as contrasted with *óðalsjorð* (Vigfússon); see Björkman, N. Pers., p. 86 n., and Lindkvist, p. 145. Lindkvist says 'the appearance of the word *Kaupaland* as a place-name in M.E. territory is most remarkable; the dictionaries have only one instance of the word to quote from O.W. Scandinavian literature.' See also Vinogradoff, Engl. Society in the Eleventh Century, p. 9. See *kaup* in W.L.

CORBY. Vil. 5 m. E. of Carlisle.

Chorkeby W. Reg. c. 1120. *Corkeby* F. F. 1263; Cl. R.

Corchebi P. R. 1167. 1348.

de Corkebi P. R. 1212. *Corcabi* Ch. R. 1330.

Corckby Ind. Loc. 1572.

For the first el. Collingwood suggests O.N. *korki*, 'oats,' a word of Irish origin accord. to Hægstad and Torp. I hesitate to accept this, and suggest the O.N. pers. n. *Kórekr* (Rygh). For -by see *býr* in W.L.

CORKICKLE. Vil. 1 m. S.E. of Whitehaven.

Corkikel, *Corkykyll* Inq. 1298.

CORNEY. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Ravenglass.

Cornai R. St. B. 12 c. *Cornay* F. F. 1354.

There is a Corney Hill Farm in Lancs., for which Wyld can give no satisfactory derivation. Corn- occurs as first el. in many pl. ns., e.g., Cornholme, W.R. Yorksh., and Cornhill,

Northd. In many cases, especially in Scottish pl. ns., it must be the Gaelic *còran*, 'hill.' Rygh, G. Pers., p. 168, thinks that a pers. n. *Korni*, though not recorded, must have been in use, in order to account for several Norse pl. ns. The second el. is probably O.N. *øy*, *ey*, 'island,' used in pl. ns., accord. to Rygh, with the meaning of a flat stretch of ground liable to inundation.

COTEHILL. Vil. 6 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Cotehill Inq. 1457.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Cota*, *Cotta*, or it may be O.E. *cott*, O.N. *kot*, 'cottage,' 'shed.' The second el. is O.E. *hyll*, 'hill.'

COULDERTON. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Egremont.

Culdertone (a close) Cl. R. 1294. *Culderton* Inq. 1298.

The first el. seems to occur in Cullercoats, Northd., and Cullerley, Aberdeensh.; perhaps also in Cullernose Point on the Northd. coast. It may be O.E. *culfre*, 'dove,' or the pers. n. *Culfre*. This would become *Culre*, *Culler*; cf. Allerton, W.R. Yorks., from *Ælfhere*. A *d* is commonly inserted between *l* and *r*; cf. 'alder' from O.E. *alor*, *alr*. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L.

Cracrop. Stapleton.

The first el. seems to be the pers. n. *Krákr*; the second may be O.E., O.N. *þorp*, 'group of farms'; cf. Crackenthorpe, Westm.

Cralkhow Hall. Ullock.

The first el. seems to be the pers. n. *Krákr*, and the second O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'cairn.'

Crindledyke. Cargo.

Cringildic W.Reg. c.1232.

Cringgeldik Cl. R. 1274.

Cringledik F. F. 1244.

Cringgeldik Inq. 1286.

Crinkledyk Cl. R. 1370.

We may compare Cringlebarrow Wood, Lancs., which Wyld derives from the O.N. pers. n. *Grimketil*, later *Grimkel*.

This seems preferable to O.N. **kringell*, *kringla*, 'circle.' The second el. is O.N. *diki*, 'ditch,' 'embankment.'

CROFTON. Hml. in Thursby par.

Crofton P. R. 1201; Pat. R. 1230.

If the first el. is O.E. *croft*, 'small enclosed field' and the second O.E. *tūn*, it is not easy to understand what the whole name orig. meant, as *tūn* also means 'an enclosure'; cf. Crofton, W.R. Yorksh.

CROGLIN. Par. 4 m. N.E. of Kirkoswald, on the river Croglin.

Croglie W. Reg. c. 1150.

Croclyn Cl. R. 1274.

Crogelin P.R. 1195; Cl. R. 1348.

Crogeling Cl. R. 1280.

Croglyn F. F. 1303.

Crookafleet. Greystoke.

For the second el. see *flēot* in W.L. The first seems to be O.N. *krókr*, 'angle,' 'bend.'

CROOKDAKE. Hml. nr. Bromfield.

de Crokedayke F. F. 1293.

Crokydake F. F. 1363.

de Crokedaik Inq. 1299.

Cruddayk Cl. R. 1370.

Crokdaike F. F. 1444.

This name apparently means 'the crooked oak'; cf. Crooked Oak, Northd. The M.E. *crōked* has no recorded earlier form in O.E., and is prob. derived from O.N. *krókr*, 'angle,' 'bend.' The terminal -aik is thus O.N. *eik*, 'oak.' Cf. Crooked Holme. At the same time it is possible that the terminal may be -dake.

CROOKED HOLME. Hml. nr. Brampton.

See preceding name.

Crookhurst. Allonby.

The pers. n. *Krókr* and O.E. *hyrst*, 'wood,' 'copse.'

Crookwath. Matterdale.

The first el. is either the O.N. pers. n. *Krókr*, or O.N. *krókr*, 'angle,' 'bend'; -wath is O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford,' 'shallow'; see W.L.

CROSBY. There are several hmls. of this name, some 3 or 4 m. N.E. of Carlisle.

Crosseby P. R. 1231.

The first el. is O.N. *kross*, 'cross,' for the use of which see W.L. The terminal -by is O.N. *býr*, Dan. *by*, 'hamlet' or 'farm.'

CROSS CANONBY. Vil. on Solway Firth, 3 m. N.E. of Maryport.

CROSSDALE. Vil. on Ennerdale Water.

de Crozedal Cl. R. 1294.

From O.N. *kross*, 'cross,' and O.N. *dalr*, or O.E. *dæl*, 'valley.'

CROSTHWAITE. Par. and vil. N.W. of Keswick.

Crosthwayt F. F. 1249. *Crosthwayt* Test. K. 1358.

See Crosssthaite, Westm.

CULGAITH. Vil. 6 m. E. of Penrith.

Culgait W. Reg. c. 1160. *Colgayth* Cl. R. 1324, 1369.

Culgayt Ind. Loc. temp. *Culgayth* F.F. 1231; Cl.R.

H. III.

1334.

Searle cites *Colga* from a charter of A.D. 794, as a variant of *Colcu*, a pers. n., and this may be the first el. The second el. looks like O.N. *eið*, 'a narrow strip of land used as a path between fields'; see Rygh, N. G., p. 48.

Cumcatch. Brampton.

Cumquencath Lan. Chart. 1169. *Cumcach* Inq. 1485.

Apparently a Celtic name; for the first el. cf. Welsh *cwm*, 'valley.'

Cumcrook. Stapleton.

Cum- is perhaps Celtic, cf. Welsh *cwm*, 'valley.' Crook may be the O.N. pers. n. *Krókr*.

CUMDIYOCK. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Dalston.

Combedeyfoch Gospatric's Charter, 11th cent.

Cumdeuoc P. R. 1244.

Cumdeuoc P. R. 1245.

Cundouoc P. R. 1251.

We may compare Moor Divock, E. of the N. end of Ullswater, and Devock Water, a small lake 5 m. N.E. of Raven-glass. I am inclined to seek a Celtic origin for this name. Compare Cwmpadarn, a Welsh valley named after Padarn, a saint of the fifth century. Compare also Cumwhinton.

CUMMERSDALE. Vil. 2 m. S. of Carlisle.

Cumbredal F. F. 1222. *Cumbresdale* Inq. 1288; F. F.

Cumbrisdale F. F. 1399. 1325.

Cumbra and *Cumbertus* are pers. ns. cited by Searle. The latter seems to be a Latinised form of *Coenbeorht*, *Cynebeorht*. Compare Cumberworth, W.R. Yorksh. We may compare also *Cumersike*, R.S. circa 1259. For *-dale* see *dalr*, *dæl* in W.L.

CUMREW. Par. 6 m. N. of Kirkoswald; 4 m. N.N.E. of Ainstable.

Comreu F. F. 1202.

Cumreu P. R. 1211; W. Reg. c. 1240; Pat. R. 1280; Cl. R. 1291.

Cumrewe Cl. R. 1346.

Comrew F. F. 1397.

Apparently a Celtic name, the first el. being akin to the Welsh *cwm*, 'valley.'

CUMWHINTON. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Cumquintina W. Reg. c. 1150. *Cumquintyn* Inq. 1297, 1343.

Cumquinton F. F. 1227.

Comquyntyn Cl. R. 1301.

Conquintun Cl. R. 1235.

Cunquyntyn Cl. R. 1321.

The early forms leave no doubt that the second part of this name is the pers. n. *Quentin*, probably the martyr saint Quintinus. The first el. is apparently Celtic; cf. the Welsh *cwm*, 'valley.' The name would thus mean 'the valley of St. Quentin'; cf. Cumdivock.

CUMWHITTON. Par. 7 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Cumquetinton Inq. 1254.

Cunquittingdon F. F. 1314.

Cumquintyngton W. R. c. 1290.

Cumquitynton F. F. 1315.

Cumquittington Inq. 1294.

Cumquytiton Cl. R. 1348.
Comwhilton Inq. 1485.

For Cum- see preceding name. The second el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Hvitingr*, cited by Lind, the O.E. equivalent of which, *Hwiting*, occurs in an early O.E. charter (Birch, Kemble). This pers. n. occurs also in Whicham, *q.v.* The terminal -ton is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.' The 1290 form above cited would in this case be due to a confusion with Cumwhinton, *q.v.* At the same time it is possible that Cumwhiton may be the same name as Cumwhinton, plus the terminal -ton. It will be noticed that the two places are within four miles of each other.

Cunning Garth. (1) Abbey Town, (2) Wigton.

Conyngarth Hill Min. A. 1539.

From O.N. *konungr*, 'king,' prob. used as a pers. n., a common el. in Norse pl. ns. The name *Konungsgarðr* occurs in *Sturlunga Saga*. See *garðr* in W.L.

CURTHWAITE. Hml. 5 m. E. of Wigton.

Kirkethuait Inq. 1285. *Kirkethwayt* Cl. R. 1348.

Kyrkthwayt Inq. 1361; Pat. R. 1407.

From O.N. *kirkja*, 'church,' and O.N. *þveit*, 'enclosure,' 'paddock.'

DACRE. Vil. 4½ m. S.W. of Penrith, named after the beck Dacre.

de Dacre P. R. 1211. *Daker* Inq. 1244.

Dakerbek Inq. 1300.

Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv, 32, speaks of 'a monastery by the river Dacre.' This name is usually identified with the Dacre, Cumb. There is also a W.R. Yorksh. village named Dacre, for which see Moorman, *s.v.*

Dalemain. Dacre.

Dalman Ald Inq. 1244. *Dalman* Inq. 1293.

DALSTON. Par. 4½ m. S.W. of Carlisle.

Daleston P. R. 1187; Ch. R. 1230.

Dalaston P. R. 1187, 1247.

The only other place with this name is N.E. of London. Dalton, however, is quite common. Rygh, *G. Pers.*, p. 57, notes that *Dalle*, a man's name, is used in Sweden, and may

have given rise to pl. ns. Lind cites the pers. ns. *Dali*, *Dalli*. Dalston, then, may have been 'the enclosure or field of Dalle.'

Darling How. S.W. of Bassenthwaite Lake.

Derling and *Dirling* are cited by Searle as pers. ns. For How see *haugr* in W.L.

DEAN. Par. and vil. 5 m. S.W. of Cockermouth.

Dene W. Reg. c. 1175; P. R. 1222; Cl. R. 1343.

O.E. *denu*, 'wooded valley,' 'glen.' See Wyld, L. Pl. Ns., pp. 315—317, for a discussion of *denu* and *denn*. Dean is a common pl. n. in various parts of England and Scotland, and extremely common as the final el. *-den*. See *denu* in W.L.

DEARHAM. Par. 7½ m. N.W. of Cockermouth.

Derhame Inq. 1285. *Derham* F. F. 1292, 1386.
'The farm of Deor.' For *-ham* see *hām* in W.L.

DENTON. Par. and vil. near Gilsland, on the Irthing.

Dentun W. Reg. c. 1180. *Denton* P. R. 1203; Cl. R. 1295.

A common pl. n. The first el. seems to be the pers. n. *Dene*, 'a Dane'; but possibly it may be O.E. *denu* or *denn*; see *denu* in W.L., and *denn*, *denu* in Wyld, L. Pl. Ns., p. 315.

Dian House. Waverton; cf. Dyon Side.

DISTINGTON. Par. 3½ m. S. of Workington.

Distington Cl. R. 1274; F. F. 1258. *Distyngton* Inq. 1298.

The O.E. word *discpegn*, 'dish bearer,' 'steward,' given in Bos. Tol., may well have been used as a pers. n.; cf. Burthinghurst, which probably is from *Būrpegn*, 'Chamberlain.' Dissington, Northd., may be the same name; possibly also Distinkhorn, Ayrsh.

DOCKRAY. Hml. nr. Matterdale.

Dockewra Inq. 1292. *Dokwra* Pat. R. 1324.
Docwra Test. K. 1380.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Docca* (Searle). It occurs in several pl. ns., as Docker, Westm., Dockham, Glo., and Dockroyd, W.R. Yorksh. Lindkvist derives it from M.E.

dok, dokke, 'dock' (plant); but this seems doubtful. For the second el. see *vrá* in W.L.

Doddick. Threlkeld.

The first el. is perhaps the dialect word *dodd*, which means 'a bare round hill or fell,' E.D.D.; the second may be O.N. *díki*, 'ditch,' 'embankment.'

Dolphenby. Edenhall.

The same word as Dovenby, *q.v.*

DOYENBY. Vil. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.W. of Cockermouth.

de Dolphinerbi P. R. 1203. *Duuvaneby* Cl. R. 1286.

Dolfanbi Inq. 1252. *de Dolfanby* Cl. R. 1323.

Douanby Inq. 1285. *Dolphany* F. F. 1351.

This name is the same as Dolphenby, and means 'Dolfin's farm.' This pers. n. was fairly common; see Searle; its O.N. form was *Dólgrinnr* (Lind). The *l* became *u* before a consonant, as usual, and the resulting diphthong was afterwards simplified to *o*. The pers. n. *Dolfin* occurs in Dolphinholt, Lancs., and Dolphinton, Lanarksh. The name *Dolfynbrigge* occurs in Cl. R. 1303.

DOWTHWAITE. Hml. 2 m. W. by S. of Matterdale.

Dowthwaite Inq. 1459.

The first el. may be the same as in Dow Gill, Westm., and in Dowbiggin, W.R. Yorksh. Lindkvist suggests the late M.E. (northern) *dow, dowe*, 'dough,' from O.E. *dāh*, cf. O.N. *deig*. He notes (on the evidence of E.D.D.) that in Kent *dough* is used of a thick clay soil. This derivation I cannot accept. For Dowthwaite, near Kirkby Moorside, N.R. Yorksh., an early form of which is *Duthethwayt* (York. Inq.), Lindkvist suggests the O. Swed. man's name *Dudh* cited by Lundgren, *Personnamn från medeltiden*. This may possibly also be the first el. of the Cumb. Dowthwaite.

DRIGG. Par. 2 m. N.W. of Ravenglass.

Dreg Inq. 1248; F. F. 1258. *Dregg* Cl. R. 1294.

Dregge Cl. R. 1322; Inq. 1298; Ind. Loc. 1514.

This name may possibly represent O.N. *drög* (pl. of *draga*), which, accord. to Cleasby-Vigfusson, means 'watercourse down a valley'; cf. *dalsdrög, daladrög*.

DRUMBURGH. Vil. 4 m. S.E. of Bowness.

Drumboc W. Reg. c.1230.

Drumbogh F. F. 1390.

Drombogh Inq. 1289.

Drumburgh Test. K. 1369.

This looks like a Celtic name. The first el. is Gaelic *drum*, Welsh *trum*, 'hill-ridge'; the second is perhaps related to Welsh *boch*, 'face.'

Dubb Hall. Arlecdon.

Dubwath. Hethersgill.

A 'dub' is a 'pool of deep water; a deep, still pool in a river,' E.D.D. Wath is O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford,' 'shallow.'

DRUNLEANING. Hml. 1 m. S. of Aikton.

John Denton, 1610, spells this name *Drumlegning*.

Drun- may be the same as the first el. of Drumburgh, *q.v.*

DUNDRAW. Vil. 3 m. W. of Wigton.

Dundrawe F.F. 1231.

Dundraw Inq. 1291.

Dumdrawe P. R. 1233.

Drundraw Inq. 1292.

Dundrag F. F. 1259.

Dundragh Test. K. 1362.

The first el. may be identical with that of Drumburgh and Drunleaning, the *r* being omitted in all but one of the early forms by a natural process of dissimilation in view of the second *dr*. The second el. may be O.N. *drag*, which accord. to Rygh has a variety of meanings in Norse pl. ns., among which we may note that of 'a small hollow or glen.' Compare Linedraw.

DUNMAIL RAISE. A heap of stones on the Westm. border

Saxton, 1610, marks in his map, *Dunbalrase Stones*. John Denton, 1610, mentions "Dunnimail or Dunmail-raise, a great heap of stones."

Raise is O.N. *hröysi*, 'mound,' 'cairn.' The place is, accord. to tradition, the site of the grave of Dunmail, the last king of Cumberland. But the name is more probably a Celtic pl. n.; cf. Dunmaul, a high rock in Antrim. We may compare the early form *Dun Mallok*, Inq. 1485, a wood near Dacre, also *Dunmalloght*, a 1307 Pat. Roll form.

DURDAR. Hml. nr. Upperby.

Dyonside. Distington.

Cf. Dian House.

EAGLESFIELD. Vil. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Cockermouth.

Egelesflet Min. A. 1265. *Eglesfeld* Cl. R. 1286.

Egglesfeld Cl. R. 1333.

The first el. is the poss. case of the O.N. pers. n. *Egill*. As regards the second el. we cannot decide whether *-flet* or *-feld* is the earlier form; the former represents O.N. *flet*, 'flat land,' the latter is O.E. *feld*, 'field.'

EASBY. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Brampton.

Eseby Inq. 1485.

Perhaps 'the farm of Ese or Esa' (see Searle). There are two places of this name in N.R. Yorksh. It is possible also that the name may be for Eastby, 'the eastern farm.'

EASTON. Hml. 5 m. E.S.E. of Bowness.

Eston Ch. R. 1267; Inq. 1242.

Prob. means 'east field.'

Eastwalte [inspet]. Irton.

EDDERSIDE. Hml. 2 m. S.E. of Holme St. Cuthbert.

Edderside Holm C. Valuation 1537.

We may compare:

Edderlanghalf Cl. R. 1322. *Edderlangtirn* Cl. R. 1322.

Edresfeld F. F. 1358.

The first el. is the gen. sing. of *Eadhere*, a pers. n. occurring in an O.E. charter of 803 and in the pl. n. *Eaderingtun*, cited by Searle from an early charter. The second el. is probably O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' which occurs freq. in pl. ns. with the meaning 'highest point' of a hill, field, stream, etc. The orig. form of Edderside would thus be *Eadheresheafod*. For -side derived from *hēafod* following a possessive case cf. Arnside, from *Arnulfes hēafod*. But -side may possibly stand for O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm.'

EDENHALL. Par. 4 m. E. by N. of Penrith.

Edenhal P. R. 1222.

Edenhale Ch. R. 1290;

Eddenall Inq. 1242.

Inq. 1290.

The first el. is the river Eden; the second is O.E. *halh*, 'river-meadow.'

EGREMONT. Tn. 5 m. S.E. by S. of Whitehaven.

Egremunde Pat. R. 1218.

R. 1251.

Egremund St. B. Found.

Egermond Cl. R. 1294;

Ch. before 1134; Pat. R.

Inq. 1293.

1246; Ind. Loc. 1267;

Egremond Cl. R. 1332,

Pat. R. 1257; Cl. R.

1304; Ind. Loc. 1386.

1332.

Egremont P. R. 1200.

Egermund Inq. 1298; Pat.

Egremunt Ch. R. 1267.

There is no O.E. or Scand. pers. n. which would explain this name. It is probably a Norman name; there is a place named Aigremont, near Poissy, W. of Paris.

Elf Hall. Nr. mouth of the Duddon.

This is perhaps an O.N. fem. pers. n. **Elfr*, which, though not recorded, Rygh considers to have been used, judging from several Norse pl. ns. At the same time, he thinks some of these may be due to O.N. *elfr*, 'river.'

ELLENBOROUGH. Vil. 1 m. S.E. of Maryport.

de Alneburg P. R. 1235.

Alenburgh Inq. 1301.

Alinburh Inq. 1285.

Alneburgh Cl. R. 1303.

Named from the river Ellen; see *burh* in W.L.

ELLONBY. Hml. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Skelton.

This may mean 'the farm of Ælfwine,' for which the form *Elwyn* occurs in an O.E. charter (Searle).

Elva Plain. Setmurthy.

Elfhow Inq. 1488.

For the first el. see Elf Hall. How is O.N. *haugr* 'hill,' 'mound.'

EMBLETON. Par. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. of Cockermouth.

Emelton F. F. 1195.

Embelton Inq. 1284, 1300;

Cl. R. 1322.

A pers. n. *Æmele* occurs in a charter of 772 A.D. (Kemble, Birch). This may possibly be a form of the Latin *Æmilius*;

cf. mod. Germ. *Emil*. Or it may be the *Amal*-, *Amel*-, which occurs as a prefix of pers. ns.; cf. *Amelsate*, an early form of Ambleside, Westm.

ENNERDALE. Par. 1½ m. W. of Ennerdale Water.

Eghnerdale Inq. 1298. *Enderdale* Pat. R. 1303.
Eynordale Cl. R. 1322.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Einarr*, or O.E. *Ægenhere*, *Egnere* (Searle). See Annaside. The *gh* in the first form above is perhaps written for *g*. *Ægen*-regularly became *ein* or *eyn*, thus *Ægenwulf* became *Einulf*. Lindkvist suggests that the first el. Ennerdale may be Ehen, the river which flows down the valley, but the early forms do not confirm this.

ESKETT. Par. 6 m. E. of Whitehaven.

Eskeheued F. F. 1230. *Eskheved* Inq. 1244, 1285.

Esk- may represent the O.N. pers. n. *Aski*. *Heved* is the M.E. form of O.E. *hēafod*; see W.L.

ESKMEALS. Hml. N. of Bootle.

Meals means 'sandbank,' from O.N. *melr*, 'coarse grass,' 'sandhill covered with such grass'; cf. Mealsgate, Mealrigg in Cumb., and Brancaster Meals, Norf. It is also spelt 'Meols' in Lancs. and Chesh.

Espa. Embleton.

The first el. may be O.N. *espi*, a form of *esp*, 'aspen-tree' (Rygh). Compare Espford, Westm.

ETTERBY. Hml. 1 m. N.W. of Carlisle.

Etardeby Inq. 1237. *Etardby* Inq. 1343.
Ethardby F. F. 1399.

These forms indicate as the first el. the pers. n. *Ægteard*, which occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde. For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

EWANRIGG. Hml. nr. Maryport.

N. and B. mention a licence to J. de Thwaytes to be chaplain at *Unerigg*, 42 Edw. III.

A hml. in Wilts. is also called Ewen. The first el. may be *Eowine*, a pers. n. cited by Searle. Rigg is O.N. *hryggr* 'hill-ridge.'

FARLAM. Par. 2½ m. S.E. of Brampton.

Farlam Lan. Chart. 1169; W. Reg. c. 1210; F. F. 1347.

Farlham F. F. 1234; Cl. R. 1295, 1346; Test. K. 1362.

We may for the first el. compare Farleton, Westm., and Lancs. The Lancs. Farleton is discussed by Wyld, who can offer no satisfactory explanation of the first el. Two pers. ns. are cited by Searle, *Faroald* < *Færweald* and *Farulf* < *Færwulf*, either of which would account for Farl-. The course of development would be approximately *Færwealdham* > *Faraldham* > *Faralham* > *Farlam* and *Færwulfham* > *Farulfham* > *Farulham* > *Farlam* respectively. The early form *Fareltun* for Farleton, adduced by Wyld, confirms this derivation. We may also compare Foston, Derb., of which Walker cites a D. Bk. form *Farulvestun*. The second el. is O.E. *hām* 'farmstead.'

FAUGH [fāf]. Hml. 7½ m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Perhaps Faugh is the dialect word 'faugh' meaning 'fallow land' (E.D.D.), which Wright derives from a hypothetical O.E. form **fealh*, the usual O.E. word being *fealu*, *valu* 'fallow.' Faugh occurs also in W.R. Yorksh.

Faulds. Thornthwaite.

See *fald* in W.L.

FENTON. Hml. 6 m. E. of Carlisle.

Fenton F. F. 1304; Cl. R. 1346; Inq. 1485.

Skeat derives Fenton, Hunts., from O.E. *fenn* 'fen,' 'marsh.' Duignan gives the same explanation of Fenton, Staffs. As D. Bk. in this case gives *Fentone*, this explanation is doubtless the correct one.

✓ **FINGLANDRIGG.** Vil. 5 m. S.S.E. of Bowness.

Flynglandrig Inq. 1485.

Fingland is the name of two small rivers in Scotland. Johnston, Pl. Ns. of Scotland, 2nd ed., p. 130, gives as the probable derivation the Gaelic *fionn lann* 'white, clear field.' I can offer no opinion on this.

Fleming Hall. Gosforth.

Flemynghall St. B. Ch. 1419.

See next article.

FLIMBY. Vil. 2 m. S.E. of Maryport.

Flemingeby Cal. Rot. Ch. *Flemingeby* F. F. 1278.

1200. *Fle[min]gby* Ch. R. 1281.

'Fleming's farm.' The 'Fleming' here may have been one of the colonists sent by William Rufus to Cumberland after his campaign in 1092, when he annexed Cumberland to his English dominions. Flemish landholders are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls for Cumberland during the twelfth century, as Lindkvist notes. A Walterus Flamanc witnesses a charter in 1178 (W. Reg). The name Willelmus Flamang, otherwise le Fleming, occurs in a Byland Abbey Charter at the end of the 12th cent. In an article in the Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc. Transs. N.S. ix, p. 270, F. W. Ragg says, 'I see no reason to reject the tradition, nor to refuse the idea that Flemingby (Flimby) was the original settlement, quite separate from Norman work. The mixture of races in Cumberland and North Westmorland was evidently very great.'

FLORISTON. Hml. 6 m. N.W. of Carlisle.

This name is most probably, like other 'towns' thereabouts, later than the settlement of the 'Debatable Land.' There are no old forms (Collingwood).

Flosh. (1) Hethersgill, (2) Cleator, (3) Aikton.

Floshes. Upperby.

The dialect word *flosh*, *flush*, has among other meanings that of 'a piece of moist ground; a morass; a reclaimed bog,' E.D.D.¹ Compare *Flush* and *Flushdyke*, W.R. Yorksh.

Fore Slack. Whitbeck.

See *slakki* in W.L.

Foreshiel Grains. Alston.

See *skjól* and *grein* in W.L.

Foulds. Ulpha.

See *Faulds*.

1. N.E.D. cites Prompt. Parvorum: 'Plasche or flasche, where reyne water stondythe torrens, lacuna.' *Flosche* occurs in *G. and the G. Knight*, l. 1430.

FOULSYKE. Pl. nr. Holme St. Cuthbert.

The first el. is O.E. *fūl* 'foul,' 'muddy'; for the second el. see *sik*, *sic* in W.L.

FRIZINGTON. Tn.

Fresinton P. R. 1259.

Frisington Inq. 1298.

Frysyngton F. F. 1409.

The first el. is O.E. *Friesa*, 'Frisian,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Procopius, writing in the sixth century, mentions the Frisians (Phrissones) as invading Britain with the Angles. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Parker MS.) *anno* 897, there is mention of Frisians fighting in the West Saxon ships against the Danes off the coast of Devon. Compare Friezland, Frizinghall, Fryston, Frisby, all in W.R. Yorksh.; also Frisby, Leic.

Galefield. Mosser.

Gale Hall. Melmerby.

These names are perhaps derived from O.N. *geil*, *q.v.* in W.L., or else from the dial. word *gale*, meaning 'bog-myrtle.'

Gallowberry. Askerton.

Galgberghfeld, a suburb of Carlisle, Cl. R. 1362.

From O.N. *gálgi*, O.E. *galga*, 'gibbet,' and O.E. *beorh*, 'grave-mound,' 'hill.' Jónsson cites *Gálgi* as an O.N. nickname, so that it is impossible to decide whether Gallowberry was called after a gibbet or a man. Gawber, W.R. Yorksh., is perhaps the same word. See Galliber, Westm.

Gallow How. Allhallows.

This name may mean the 'hill with the gibbet,' or else Galgi's grave mound; see preceding name. How is O.N. *haugr*, O.E. *hōh*.

GAMBLESBY. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Kirkoswald; also a hml. 2 m. N. of Wigton.

Gamelesbi P. R. 1176. *Gamelesby* Inq. 1262; Cl. R. 1362.

'The farm of Gamal or Gamel.' A person of this name is mentioned in a *Coram Rege* Roll (11 John). We may compare *Gamelesflat* (a croft), Cl. R. 1274; also Gambles Green, Staffs., and Gamston, Notts., an early form of which is

Gameleston (Mutschmann). A *b* inserted between *m* and *l* is a common case of epenthesis, cf. 'thimble,' from O.E. *pymel*.

GARRIGILL. Hml. 5 m. S.S.E. of Alston.

Gerardgile Ch. R. 1232. *Gerardgill* Inq. 1291.

The pers. n. *Gerhard* occurs in D. Bk. We may compare Crosby Garrett, Westm. Gill is O.N. *gil*, 'cleft,' 'ravine,' a common el. in Cumb., Westm., N. Lancs., and N. Yorksh. pl. ns.

Gars. See Grass Gars.

Gasgarth. Irton.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of a pers. n.; for -garth see *garðr* in W.L.

GATESGILL. Hml. 5½ m. S. of Carlisle.

Geytescales Cl. R. 1273. *Gaytschaes* Inq. 1300.

Gaytscales Cl. R. 1323.

The first el. is O.N. pers. n. *Geiti* (Rygh).¹ With regard to the second el. we assume that -*gill* has replaced the older form 'scales,' or else that there was a form of the name also in use, with -*gill* as the second el. -*Scales* is the O.N. *skáli*, 'hut,' 'shelter'; it is a dialect word and is found in a number of Cumb., Westm., and Yorksh. pl. ns., e.g. Scales, Scalesby, Ellenscales; see W.L.

GELTSDALE. Par. 7 m. S.E. of Brampton.

Geltesdale Inq. 1485.

The dale of the small river Gelt. Cf. Gelt Burn, Northd., and Gelt Water, Ayrshire.

Geltside. Hayton.

See preceding name.

GILCRUX. Vil. 5½ m. N.W. of Cockermouth.

Gilecruice Inq. 1285. *Gilcrouce* Inq. 1302; Cl. R. 1344.

Gillecruz F. F. 1231.

Gil- may represent the Irish *kil*, 'church.' The second el. would thus be O.F. *croiz*, *cruiz*, cf. Welsh *crwys*, 'cross.'

1. Or O.N. *geit*, 'goat.'

GILGARRAN. Hml. 2 m. E. of Distington.*Gilgarran* Inq. 1298.

The second el. may be identical with *Garran*/*, which occurs in several Irish pl. ns. The first is hardly likely to be O.N. *gil*, 'ravine,' 'narrow valley,' as this would not come first. It may represent the Irish *kil*, 'church': see preceding name.

Gillerbeck Head. Bewcastle.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Gislhere*; for *beck* see *bekkr* in W.L.

GILSLAND. Vil. 7 m. N.E. of Brampton.*Gillesland* Inq. 1240.*Gillesland* Cl. R. 1285.*Gilesland* Cl. R. 1274.

Gilsland was the name of one of three original Cumb. baronies. Rygh, *Gaml. Pers.*, p. 89, gives *Gil*: as a pers. n. occurring as an el. of pl. ns. It may be, he thinks, a metathesis-form of *Gisli*. *Gisl* was a common O.N. and O.E., pers. n. and first el. of pers. ns. (Searle, *Ind.*). The O.N. pers. n. *Gilli* would also account for the first el. For the el. *-land* see W.L.

GLASSON. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Bowness.

This name occurs also in N. Lancs. We may also compare *Glassan*, co. Westmeath.

de Glassan P. R. 1259.*Glassan* Cl. R. 1278.*Glassen* Inq. 1457.

This name appears to be identical with the first el. of the next.

GLASSONBY. Vil. 6 m. N.E. of Penrith.*Glassanebi* P. R. 1176.*Glassenby* P. R. 1223.*Glassanesby* P. R. 1229.*Glassaneby* Ch. R. 1244.

In *Coram Rege* Roll 11 John, No. 41, a certain *Glassam*, son of *Brictric*, a king's *dreng*, is mentioned as having given his name to this manor; Prescott, *W. Reg.*, p. 146 n. For *-by* see *býr* in W.L.

Glencoyne. Watermillock.*Glencaine* F. F. 1212.*Glenekone* F. F. 1255.*Glencon* Inq. 1257.*Glencoyne* Inq. 1457.

Godderthwaite. St. Bridget's, Beckermet.

GOSFORTH. Vil. 6½ m. S.E. of Egremont.

Gosséford Cl. R. 1294; Ind. Loc. 1514.

Grain Head. Hethersgill.

Grass Gars. E.N.E. of Devoke Water.

Graymains. Muncaster.

Greaves. Dacre.

Greenah Cragg. Greystoke.

Graynehou Inq. 1299. *Granehow* F. F. 1363.

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GREYSOUTHEN. [grēsūn]. Vil. 3½ m. S.W. of Cocker-mouth.

Creiksothen Fin. Conc. 1231. *Craysothen* F. F. 1292.
Craysothen F. F. 1292; *Craysothin* Inq. 1285.
Cl. R. 1307. *Graysothen* F. F. 1296.

The first el. may be identical with that of Greystoke. The second I cannot explain.

GREYSTOKE. Vil. 5 m. W. of Penrith.

Creistock P. R. 1167. *Craystock* Ch. R. 1245.
Crestoc Pat. R. 1229. *Creystok* Cl. R. 1294.
de Graistoc W. Reg. c. *Graystok* Test. K. 1356;
1240. Cl. R. 1348, 1362.
Craystok Inq. 1244.

Though the earlier forms cited above have initial C, it is not certain that the original form began with this letter, as *c* is in M.E. often written initially for *g*. The first el. if it is not O.E. *græg*, O.N. *grár*, 'grey,' I am inclined to seek in a lost O.N. word, **kreik*, 'a turn or winding of a stream or river,' which Lindkvist (pp. 68—70) postulates as the original of Creake, Norf., and Craike, Yorksh. This word Lindkvist connects with O.N. *kríkr*, 'bend,' 'nook,' and he derives from it *creyke*, used in the Lake Dist. with the meaning 'a nook or opening formed in the sand of marshes by the tide,' E.D.D. The stream which divides Dacre and Greystoke is very crooked. For the dropping of *k* we may compare the form *Blakestanefitte* Cl. R. 1294 with *Blaystanfit* Cl. R. 1322; see Blaithwaite. Another possible origin is **Crecga*, which occurs in *Crecganford*=Crayford, Kent, mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chron. Parker MS., anno 457. For the second el. see Linstock and Brunstock.

GRINSDALE. Par. 2½ m. N.W. of Carlisle.

Grinesdale Lan. R. 1190. *Grinnisdal* Inq. 1261.
Grenesdale F. F. 1200. *Grymesdale* Cl. R. 1362.
Grynsdale Inq. 1485.

It is possible that *Grymesdale* may be a misspelling due to confusion with the common O.N. pers. n. *Grímr*. The

first el. is clearly a pers. n.; we may compare Grinshill, Shrop., and Grinsteads, Suss. For the second el. see *dalr*, *dæl* in W.L.

Guards. Boltons. Gosforth.

See *garðr* in W.L.

Gubbergill. Irton.

From the pers. n. *Guðbeorht*. For -gill see *gil* in W.L.

Gunshole. Gilsland.

From the O.N. pers. n. *Gunni* (Björkman). Hole may be O.N. *hóll*, 'hill.'

Gutherscale. Newlands.

From O.E. pers. n. *Guðheard* or O.N. pers. n. *Guðriðr*; for -scale see *skáli* in W.L.

GUTTERBY. Pl. nr. Whitbeck, on Gutterby Bay.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Godard*, which is in early O.E. charters written *Guhlard*, *Guttardus* (Searle). *Godard* de Boyville was first lord of Millom and S. Cumb. (12th cent.). For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

Hagbeck. Riddings.

See Hag End, Westm.

Hagg. Stapleton.

See Hag End, Westm., and Compare Hagg, Haggs, W.R. Yorksh.

HAILE, HALE. Vil. 2½ m. S.E. of Egremont.

Hale P. R. 1226; Inq. 1298; Cl. R. 1335.

This name and its plur. form Hales are fairly common as Engl. pl. ns., e.g. in Westm. and Lancs. In the case of Hale, Lancs., Wyld cites the early forms *Halas*, *Hales*, *Hale*, *Halgh*. From these it is clear that the Lancs. and Cumb. pl. n. Hale and the Scottish and N. Engl. dial. word *haugh*, also found in pl. ns., have the same origin, viz. O.E. *halh*. Accord. to E.D.D. *haugh*, which is used only in Scotl. and the N. of Engl., means 'low-lying, level ground by the side of a river.' *Hale*, used in Lancs., Lincs. and the Midland counties, means (1) 'a

piece of flat, alluvial land by the side of a river; a sandbank'; (2) 'a triangular corner of land, a 'gair'; a bank or strip of grass, separating lands in an open field.' *Eale*, also spelt *eel*, used in Northd., means 'low, flat, marshy ground by the side of a river; a 'haugh.' These three words are all derived by the New English Dictionary from O.E. *healh*, to which the meaning 'nook,' 'corner,' is given. In support of this suggestion we may instance O.E. *ham*, 'inner or hind part of the knee,' the modern form of which, *ham*, occurring frequently in pl. ns., is defined by E.D.D. as 'flat, low-lying pasture land near a stream or river.' According to Jellinghaus the Low German *ham*, the same word as O.E. *ham*, is used of a bend in a stream, a corner of land by the water, generally overgrown with grass and serving as pasture. Thence, he says, Middle Dutch *ham*, *hamme*, meant *pratum*, *pascuum* (cited from Wyld, Lancs. Pl. Ns., p. 343). Stenton, in Pl. Ns. of Berks., p. 12, says that *ham* and *halh* have much the same meaning, and where in places one is common in pl. ns., the other is rare. The meaning 'angle' for *halh* also explains the second meaning of *hale* cited above from E.D.D., viz. 'a triangular corner of land.' It remains to say a few words on the forms *haugh*, *hale*, *eale*. The first, the Mid. Eng. forms of which are *halche*, *hawch*, *hawgh*, is a normal development from O.E. *halh*; cf. Scottish *saugh*, *sauch*, from O.E. *salh*, 'willow.' The second is the Mid. Engl. *hāle*, derived from O.E. inflected cases, *hale*, *halum*, etc., which must have had a short stem-vowel in the late period, from an earlier vowel lengthened after dropping of *h*. In *eale* or *eel* the initial *h* is dropped, as frequently in dials., and the stem vowel is fronted and raised to [i], also quite usual in some North. dials. in the case of O.E. short *a* in an open syllable. It may be noted that the O.N. word *hali*, 'den,' 'wild beast's lair,' is used in Norse pl. ns., according to Rygh, with the meaning 'long, narrow, winding road,' also 'long, tongue-like projection on a hill or mountain.' It is possible that this O.N. word may have been used in some parts of Engl. and confused with the inflected forms of O.E. *halh*. See also Hale in Goodall, Pl. Ns. of W. Yorks.

Halthwaite Whins. Raughton Head.

See Hay, Westm., for the first el. For the second see *poëit* in W.L.

HALLS, Hause, Hawes. Vil. on Dash Beck, which flows into N.E. of Bassenthwaite Lake.

This name seems to be the dial. word *halse*, *hause*, 'neck,' 'throat,' one of the special meanings of which, accord. to E.D.D., is 'a defile, a narrow passage between mountains; a narrow connecting ridge.' The word is generally used in Lakeland of passes over the lower fells, cf. Seatoller Hause, but in the present instance would refer to the narrow entrance to the Dashbeck valley.

Hallsford. Stapleton.

Perhaps means 'the ford by the haughs,' O.E. *halas*; see Haile.

HALSENNÄ. Hml. nr. Gosforth.

Formerly Hall Senhouse. The Senhouses were from Sevenhuys, nr. Rotterdam.

HALTCLIFFE. Hml. 2 m. S.E. of Caldbeck.

Halteclo F.F. 1208; Pat.R. *Haltecle* Inq. 1285.
1231; Inq. 1251; Cl. R. *Halticlo* F.F. 1259.
1344.

The terminal *-cliffe* is evidently modern. The early forms seem to point to M.E. *clou*; see **clōh* in W.L. The first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Hjalti*. If the surname *de Haldeclogh*, occurring in Inq. 1336, is the same name as Haltcliffe, we must seek some other pers. n. for the first el.

HARESCEUGH. Hml. 4 m. E. of Kirkoswald.

Harschoh Inq. 1285. *Harscogh* Inq. 1457, 1485.

This name prob. means 'the grey or old wood,' from O.E. *hār*, Mod. Engl. 'hoar,' and O.N. *skógr*. We may compare Hareshaw, Westm., and Harewood, W.R. Yorksh., in reference to which Moorman thinks that *hār* refers to the grey colour of the lichen-covered tree-trunks. The name *Harewode* occurs in Cl. R. 1288. At the same time the possibility of a

pers. n. such as O.N. *Hǫrðr* is not excluded as the origin of Hare-.

HARKER. Ry. stn. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Carlisle.

Heriker Cl. R. 1294.

The first el. is probably from the O.N. pers. n. *Hjǫrtr*, which means 'hart,' 'stag,' the O.E. form being *heorot*. The second is O.N. *kjarr*, 'copse,' 'thicket on swampy soil.' Hart- is the first el. of many pl. ns., cf. Hartwood, Surrey, and Hartley, Westm. See also Hartlow.

Harker Marsh. Broughton Moor. See preceding name.

HARRABY. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Herriby Test. K. 1380.

John Denton (p. 68) says that Radulf Engayne gave 'Henrickby alias Herriby' to Carlisle priory in the 12th cent., and further (p. 155) that Henricus was R. E.'s father.

HARRAS, HARRIS. Hml. 1 m. E. of Whitehaven.

This is also the name of the adjacent moor. We may compare Harriston in Aspatia.

HARRINGTON. Tn. on coast, $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Whitehaven.

Haveringtuna, R. St. B. c. 1200.

Haverington Cl. R. 1274; F. F. 1278; Test. K. 1378.

With this name we may compare Havering and Haveringwell, Essex; also Haveringland, Norf. The first el. is prob. a patronymic **Hælfriðing* or **Heahfriðing*. In an O.E. charter we find a pl. n. *Helfreðing den*. The original form of the name might thus be *Hælfriðinga* (or *Heahfriðinga*) *tūn*, 'the enclosure or farm of the family of Hælfrið (or Heahfrið).'

Hartlow. Holme St. Paul.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Hjǫrtr*; cf. Harker. The second is O.E. *hlāw*, 'tumulus,' 'mound.'

HAUSE. See **HALLS**.

Haskewrigg. Troutbeck.

Possibly another form of Haresceugh, *q.v.* For *-rigg* see *hrygg* in W.L.

HAYERIGG. Vil. 1½ m. S.W. of Millom.

Haverigg Holme, Lancs., is explained by Wyld as 'a ridge (of land) sown with oats,' from O.N. *hafri*, 'oats.' This is, I think, unlikely, though supported by Lindkvist in the case of Haverthwaite, Lancs. For the Lancs. pl.n. Haverthwaite Wyld suggests the O.N. pers. n. *Hávarðr*. This is also out of the question, as the O.N. *v* has the same value as O.E. *w* and could not appear in Mod. Engl. as *v*. The O.E. form of *Hávarðr* is thus *Haward*, cited by Searle. The first el. of Haverigg I take to be a pers. n. such as *Heahfrið* or *Hælfrið*; see Harrington above. The same name occurs in Haverbrack, Westm.; also in Haversham, Bucks., and in Haverholm, Lincs. In Havercroft, W.R. Yorksh., the O.N. *hafri* may possibly account for the first el.

HAWKSDALE. Hml. 2 m. S. of Dalston.

Haukesdale Test. K. 1360.

Hawk and Hawks occur in numerous pl. ns., and represent in most cases either the O.N. pers. n. *Haukr* or the equivalent O.E. form *Hafoc*, literally 'hawk,' M.E. *haveke*. See Wyld, Lancs. Pl. Ns., s.v. Hawkshaw.

Hayborough. Ullock.

Hay- may be a pers. n. such as *Hega*, *Heah-*, or it may be O.E. *hege*, *q.v.* in W.L. Borough is O.E. *burg*, *q.v.* in W.L.

HAYTON. (1)Vil. 2½ m. S.W. of Brampton, (2) par. 5 m. N.E. of Maryport.

Eiton P. R. 1193.

Haiton P. R. 1195.

Eton P. R. 1197.

Hayton Inq. 1285; Ch. R. 1290; Cl. R. 1346.

The prefix Hay- or Hey- is very common in Engl. pl. ns. It generally represents O.E. *hege*, properly 'hedge'; and afterwards 'piece of land enclosed by a hedge,' especially in a forest; see *hege* in W.L. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L. The name thus may mean 'field or farm in or by a 'hay' or forest clearing.' It is possible that in some instances Hay- or Hey- may be M.E. *hegh*, *heȝ*, from O.E. *hēah*, 'high,' or else O.E. *heg*, 'hay'; or thirdly, a pers. n. such as *Hega*, *Heah-*.

HEAD'S NOOK. Vil. 5 m. S. of Brampton.

Heddesnucke Ind. Loc. 1572.

Compare *Hedeswod*, Inq. 1485. 'The 'nook' or farm of Hedde.' In E.D.D. 'nook' is cited as a Cumb. word meaning 'a small field or farm,' and it is said that it is 'an old legal term for 12½ acres of land; still in use at Alston.' The pers. n. *Headda*, *Hædda*, *Hedda*, *Hedde*, is cited by Searle from O.E. sources.

Heathery Fauld. Nichol Forest.

Ederesfeld F. F. 1358.

For first el. see Hethersgill; for Fauld see Faulds.

HENSINGHAM. Vil. 1 m. S.E. of Whitehaven.

Ensingham F. F. 1275.

We may compare Hensington, Oxf. Kemble, as Alexander, Oxf. Pl. Ns., notes, explains Hensington together with Hensingham as 'the settlement of the Hanesings or Hene-sings.' This is possible, but there is no record of such a name.

Hermans Hill. Gosforth.

This may be the pers. n. *Heremund*.

HESKET. There are three places of this name in Cumb.

Heskaith Rot. Orig. 1337. *Haskethes* Pat. R. 1394.

Hesketh Pat. R. 1404.

This is the same name as Hesketh, Lancs., which Wyld, rightly, I think, derives from O.N. *hestr*, 'horse,' and O.N. *skeið*. Wyld quotes Rygh as saying (N. G., p. 75) that *skeið* as an el. in Norse pl. ns. may have reference to a place actually used for, or suitable for, horse-races. Rygh adds, however, that this explanation is 'somewhat doubtful.' Wyld has omitted to quote Rygh's subsequent remark that *skeið* may have been used in another sense, viz., 'a farm-road through a field.' The first el. *hestr* may in Hesketh have been used as a pers. n., of which use Jónsson cites several instances. Lindkvist confirms Wyld's derivation and cites the O. Norw. pl. n. *Hæsta Skæidi*. We may compare also Hesketh Grange, nr. Boltby, N.R. Yorksh., but this pl. has among other early

forms *Hestelscaith*, *Hestelscarth*, which are difficult to account for; see Lindkvist, p. 64.

Hestham Hall. Millom Rural.

de Hestholm Furn. Ch. 1279.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *hestr*, 'horse,' used as a pers. n. We may compare Hest Bank, Lancs. For -holm see *holm* in W.L.

HETHERSGILL. Par. 6 m. N.W. of Brampton.

We may compare *Hederfurth* F. F. 1230; *Hederesford* Inq. 1240; *Hedrisford* Inq. 1263; *Hedresford* Cl. R. 1346; compare also Heatherslaw, Northd., and Heathery Fauld, Cumb. The first el. is clearly the gen. case of a pers. n. such as *Hæðred* (Searle). For -gill see *gil* in W.L.

Hewthwaite Hall. Bridekirk.

Le Huthwait Bp. Halton's Reg. 1307; *Hothwayt* F. F. 1340.

In the above name Hew- is prob. a pers. n.; for -thwaite see *pveit* in W.L.

Hodbarrow. At S. extremity of Cumb. on coast.

From the pers. n. *Hod* (Searle), and O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.'

Hodyoad. Lamplugh.

Compare Yoad Pot, Westm.

Hollands. Nichol Forest.

Holland occurs in Lincs. and in Lancs. It is, judging by early forms, the same name as Hoyland, W.R. Yorksh., the first el. of which Moorman takes to be O.E. *hol*, 'hollow.'

Hollin Stone. Brampton.

Holling How. Eskdale.

How is O.N. *haugr*, 'tumulus,' 'hill.'

Hollins. Boot.

Also occurs in Westm. Hollin- and Holling- occur in numerous pl. ns. They are usually derived from O.E. *holen*, 'holly'; see Hollingworth, in Wyld, Lancs. Pl. Ns.; also Hollin, Holling, in Duignan, Worc. Pl. Ns.; Hollington in Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns. It is quite likely, however, that the original form in some cases is a pers. n. Searle cites *Holan broc*, and *Holan beorh* from O.E. charters. *Holan* is the gen.

case of *Hola*, and would account for *Hollin* and *Holling*, but hardly for *Hollins*. Perhaps the original was the pers. n. *Holdwine*.

HOLME CULTRAM. Urban district, now called Abbey Town, 4 m. E. by S. of Silloth, once the site of an important abbey.

<i>Holmcoltria</i>	Holmc. Fn.	<i>Holkolterham</i>	Pat. R. 1252.
	Charter 1150.	<i>Holmcoltram</i>	Cl. R. 1290,
<i>Holcoltram</i>	P. R. 1201.		1330, 1342; Ch. R. 1300.
<i>Holcultram</i>	Cl. R. 1235.		

Hodgson Hinde has identified this name with the *mansio* of Culterham belonging to Lindisfarne in the ninth cent.; see Publications of Surtees Society, vol. 51, p. 68. The first el. seems to be O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L. The second el. may be compared with Culter, a vil. in Lanarksh., and is possibly a pers. n., such as *Ceolthryth*; Searle cites *Ceolthrythe bec* from an O.E. charter. Or it may be the O.N. woman's n. *Koltorfa*, cited by Lind. The last el. seems to be O.E. *hām*, *q.v.* in W.L. For *holm* at the beginning of a pl. n. see next article; the addition of the prefix was prob. subsequent to the formation of the original name Cultram. The whole name may thus mean 'the *holm* or riverside meadow-land called after the farm Cultram, *i.e.*, *Ceolthryth's* farm,' or 'Coltorfa's farm.'¹

HOLMROOK. Irton.

The second el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Hrókr*, the English form of which was *Roc*. For the first el. see *hólmr* in W.L. The order of these elements of the name is the reverse of what is usual, but is found in some other ns. such as Kirkbride, Kirksanton; see also preceding article.

HOPESIKE WOODS. 2 m. S. of Longtown.

From O.N. *hópr*, 'small creek, inlet or glen,' and O.N. *sík*, O.E. *sic*, *sice*, 'slowly flowing or stagnant water'; see *hópr* and *sic* in W.L.

1. But see the Rev. W. Baxter's article on the granges of H. Cultram in C.W.N.S. xiv, 274 ff. Here Cultram is explained as *culta terra*, the cultivated land of the Cistercian monks.

HORNSBY. Hml. S. of Cumwhitton.*Ormesby* W. Reg. c. 1210; F.F. 1213; Cl. R. 1362.

Hornby is the name of several places. If the identification of *Ormesby* with Hornsby is correct, the first el. is the poss. case of the common O.N. pers. n. *Ormr*.

HOUGHTON. Vil. 2½ m. N.E. of Carlisle.*Hocton* R. S. 1261.*Hochton* Inq. 1297.*Hoghton* Cl. R. 1346.

A rather common pl. n. meaning 'the enclosure of Hoc.' Searle gives the pers. ns. *Hoce*, *Hoca*, *Hocca*, from O.E. charters. A *c* [k] before *t* regularly becomes a spirant [x], written *ch*, *gh* in Mid. Engl. pl. ns.; cf. Broughton.

HOUSE HOLM. Islet in Ullswater.

'House' is perhaps a pers. n. Searle cites *Husa*, *Hussa*. It is possible, of course, though less likely, I think, that the island was named after a house built upon it. A third possibility is O.N. *hauss*, which, accord. to Rygh, in Norw. pl. ns., denotes a round hill-top, a knoll. He remarks that this word is sometimes confused with *hús*. 'Holm' is the O.N. *hólmr*, 'island.' We may compare House Island, one of the Farne islands, off the coast of Northd.; also one of the Shetlands.

HOW. Hml. 2½ m. S.W. of Brampton.

Apparently the O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'tumulus,' a common el. of pl. ns.; see W.L.

Howgate. Frizington.

From O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'knoll,' and *gata*, 'road.'

Howrigg. West Newton.

From O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound,' and *hryggr*, 'ridge.'

Hudbeck. Raughton Head.

The first el. may be pers. n. *Huda*, *Hudda*; see *bekkr* in W.L.

Huddlescough Hall. Kirkoswald.*Huddescoch* W. Reg. c. 1210.*Huteskou* W. Reg. c. 1210.
Huttescou W. Reg. c. 1210.

PLACENAMES OF NORBERTON

The first el. seems to be pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*.
The second is O.N. *ey*. *Wick*.

Hindcote. Caithness.

The first el. is pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*. For the second see *ibid* in W.L.

Hulberton. Talen.

The first el. is pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*. For the second see *ibid* in W.L.

Hunday. Worthington.

The first el. is pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*. The second el. is O.N. *ey*. properly 'island' then 'island of the river'.

Hundith Hall. Embsay.

The first el. here also seems to be pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*. The second may be either O.N. *ey* or O.N. *ey* in W.L.

Hunley. Scaleby.

This name may represent the pers. n. *Finn*. *Finn*. *Seaton*. and O.N. *ey*, 'island,' 'plot of meadow ground.' Or else the first el. may be the pers. n. *Hun*. and the second either O.E. *lēa*, 'meadow,' or O.E. *lēa*, 'meadow' 'mound'.

HUNSONBY. Vil. 1 m. E. of Little Selby.

Hunsdonby P.R. West. 1257. E.C.V. 1.

The first is, accord. to Lindesay, the anglicised form of an unrecorded O. West. Scand. pers. n. **Hunsdon*. For the second see *ibid* in W.L.

HUTTON. There are several places of this name.

Hotun P.R. 1227.

Hotun P.R. 1227. O.N.

Hotton Inq. 1237.

1237.

This name occurs also in Lancs. and is common in the N.R. of Yorkshire, but occurs nowhere else in England. Wyld thinks the first el. is O.E. *hūn*, 'mound' 'mound'; but it may be a pers. n. *Hod*, *Hoda* (Searle). The second el. is *tūn*, q.v. in W.L.

Hyton. Bootle.

Hietun D.Bk.; *Hyton*, St. Bees Ch. c. 1270.

The first el. may be a pers. n. such as *Hyge-* or *Hiddi* (Searle).

Icold House. Greystoke.

Ikeld was the name of a close in Greystoke in 1704 (Bp. Nicolson).

INGLEWOOD FOREST. A district, once an important forest, extending from Carlisle to Penrith, bounded on the E. side by the river Eden.

<i>Foresta de Engleswoda</i>	<i>Englewode</i> Pat. R. 1252.
Holm C. foundation ch.	<i>Engelwude</i> Pat. R. 1255.
1150.	<i>Inglewode</i> Cl. R. 1278.
<i>Englewude</i> P. R. 1227.	<i>Ingelwode</i> Cl. R. 1279.

The prefix *Ingle-* occurs in numerous pl. ns. If it is the earlier form, it may be a pers. n., such as *Ingeld* from O.N. *Ingjaldr*, or else *Ingulfr*. In the case of so important a forest such a name would belong to a king or earl. If, however, *Engel-* or *Engle-* be the earlier form, it is not easy to explain. In his Staffs. Pl. Ns., Duignan mentions that D. Bk. records eleven instances of the spelling *Engleby* for the modern pl. n. Ingleby. Englefield, Berks., appears as *Engla feld* in the A.S. Chronicle under date 871; Skeat, Berks. Pl. Ns. The first el. of these names seems to be O.E. *Engla*, gen. pl. of *Engle*, 'Angle' or 'Englishman.' But why should a forest in Cumberland have been called after the Angles or English? Possibly the name may have been originally given by the Scandinavian invaders and settlers, and afterwards Anglicised. Another suggestion for the first el. is one or other of the O.N. pers. ns. *Engli* and *Engill*. This is supported by the 1150 form.

Intack. Caldbeck.

Intake. Rosley.

'A piece of land enclosed from a moor, common, or road; a fell-side pasture; land reclaimed from a tidal river or the sea,' E.D.D. From O.W. Sc. *inntaka*, 'a piece of land taken in from the wood and enclosed'; see Lindkvist, p. lviii.

IREBY. Par. 7 m. S.W. of Wigton.

Yrebi P. R. 1185.

Irby Inq. 1296.

Ireby Cl. R. 1236; Ch. R. *Irreby* Inq. 1336.

1244.

For Ireby in Lancs., Wyld suggests the derivation 'the *bȳ* of Yrr,' Yrr being an old female Icel. pers. n. The man's name *Ira* occurs in a charter of Æthelred II, and in a charter in Birch and Kemble's collections, in the pl. n. *Yran ceaster*, and I incline to regard it as forming the first el. of Ireby both in Cumb. and in Lancs. E. H. Lind cites the pers. n. *Iri*. The name may have originally meant 'Irishman'; cf. Scotby.

IRTHINGTON. Vil. 2½ m. N.W. of Brampton on the short river Irthing.

Irthington Inq. 1290.

Irthynton Inq. 1297.

Erthington Cl. R. 1295; *Irthyngton* F. F. 1328.

Inq. 1294.

A wood is called *Irthin* in Inq. 1294.

IRTON. Par. 4 m. N.E. of Ravenglass on the river Irt.

There is an Ireton in Derb., which may be the same name as Irton. Thomas de Irton often occurs in St. Bees charters, 1230-60, as the name of a witness.

ISELL. Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Cockermouth, on the Derwent.

Ysala P. R. 1195.

Isale Inq. 1288; Cl. R.

Yshale Inq. 1261.

1362.

Ishale Cl. R. 1307.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Isi*, which occurs in the pl. n. *Isaporp*, cited by Lind. The second el. is O.E. *halh*, mod. dial. *hale*, 'river-meadow,' for which see Haile.

IVEGILL. Par. 5 m. S.E. of Dalston, on the small stream Ive, an affluent of the Caldew.

JOHNBY, Vil. in Greystoke tnsH.

Johanbi W. Reg. c. 1205.

Johanebi P. R. 1222.

Joenbi P. R. 1210.

Joneby P. R. 1223.

de Jonebi Pat. R. 1221.

The pers. n. *Johannes*, *Johan*, does not occur in O.E. times except in the case of ecclesiastics. The Norse form is *lón*,

which appeared with the introduction of Christianity (Rygh). For -by see *býr* in W.L.

Keckle Head. Whillimoor.

Keckle is prob. for *Ketill*, *Ketel*, a very common Scand. pers. n. Compare Kettle Hall.

Keld House. Cummersdale.

Keld is either O.N. *kelda*, 'spring,' or else the Scand. pers. n. *Ketill*, which, accord. to Rygh, was confused in Norse pl. ns. with *kelda*. Lind cites *Keld* as a form of *Ketill*.

Kellbarrow House. Catterlen.

For Kell- see preceding name. Barrow is O.E. *beorg*, 'grave-mound,' 'tumulus.'

KELSICK. Vil. 2 m. E. of Abbey Town.

Keldesik Cl. R. 1324.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *kelda*, 'spring'; but it may possibly be the pers. n. *Ketill*; see the two preceding names. The second el. is O.N. *sík*, 'sluggish stream,' 'ooze,' or, if the first is the poss. case of *Ketill*, it may represent O.N. *vík*, M.E. *wike*, 'corner.'

Kelswick House. Camerton.

Kelswick may be the same name as Kelsick, *q.v.*

KELTON. Hml. nr. Lamplugh, 6 m. E. of Whitehaven.

Keltona, Gospatric's Ch. c. 1165. *Kelton* F. F. 1398.

The first el. is either O.N. *kelda*, 'spring,' or the O.N. pers. n. *Ketill*; see Keld House. The name thus means either 'the field by the spring,' or 'Ketill's field. Kelton also occurs in Dumfr. and Kirkcudb.

KENNISIDE or KINNISIDE. Tnsh. 4 m. N.E. of Egremont.

The first el. is prob. the (English) poss. case of the O.N. pers. n. *Kinaðr* (Rygh), of which Searle cites the forms *Kinath*, *Kenneth*. In P. R. 1207 *de Kenet* occurs as a man's name. The second el. is either O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'hill,' or O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm'; see both words in W.L.

Kersey Bridge. Across the Ehen on the road from Raven-glass to St. Bees.

Kareswath R. St. B. early 13 c.

The second el. is from O.N. *vaðr* 'ford,' 'shallow'; the first is perhaps the poss. case of a pers. n.

KESWICK. Tn. N. of Derwentwater.

Kesewyk Cl. R. 1288. *Kesewik* Ch. R. 1290.

These early forms, as well as *Kessewik*, occur also in the case of Keswick, W.R. Yorksh., which Moorman derives from O.E. *cese*, 'cheese,' and *wīc*, 'dwelling.' The name he thus would take to mean 'dairy-farm.' For the second el. I prefer O.N. *vīk*, 'inlet,' 'creek.' As regards the first, we may compare Cheswick, Northd., and perhaps Chiswick, London. It is perhaps the same as in Keisley, Westm., *q.v.*

Kettle. Bewcastle.

This is the common O.N. pers. n. *Ketill*, *Ketel*.

Kilsyke Hill. Newton.

For the second el. see *sīk* in W.L. The first el. may be the same as in Kelsick, *q.v.*

KINGSIDE. Hml. 1 m. N.W. of Abbey Town.

Kynisheved Inq. 1298.

This name seems to be identical with Kenniside, *q.v.* The spelling King- looks like a case of 'popular etymology.'

King Harry. Cumwhitton.

Kynheur Inq. 1294.

In an article in C. W. N. S. vii, p. 67 ff, T. H. Graham compares with King Harry the Irish pl. ns. Kinnewry and Kinure, which Joyce, *Irish Names of Places* i, 546, derives from Gaelic *ceann-iubhair* 'yew-head.'

Kinmont. Corney.

Probably the pers. n. *Cynemund*.

KIRK-.

This word, which occurs in several Cumb. pl. ns., is O.N. *kirkja*, which is probably derived from O.E. *circe*, *cirice*, 'church.'

KIRKANDREWS. Par. 10 m. N. of Carlisle.

Kirkandres P. R. 1257; Inq. 1284; Cl. R. 1346.

The second el. is either *Andrés*, the O.N. form of the name Andrew, or *Andreas*, the Latin and O.E. form.

KIRKBAMPTON. Vil. 6½ m. W. of Carlisle.

See Bampton.

KIRKBRIDE. Vil. 4 m. S. of Bowness.

Kirkebride P. R. 1189; Cl. R. 1318.

See Bridekirk.

KIRKCAMBECK. Hml. 5 m. N.E. of Brampton.

Cambok W. Reg. c. 1177; *Cambock* Cl. R. 1295.

Pat. R. 1254; F. F. 1259; *Kirkcamboc* Cl. R. 1307.

Inq. 1302; Cl. R. 1346.

Cambok is Cam Beck, the stream by which the hml. stands. The name seems to be a Celtic one.

KIRKLINTON. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Longtown.

Levinton P. R. 1176; *Lingiveton* P. R. 1191.

Cl. R. 1235. *Levington* Inq. 1263.

Leventon P. R. 1188; Inq. *Kirk Levington* Inq. 1284.
1240.

Cf. Levington in E. Suffolk. Linthorpe, Yorksh., appears as *Levingthorpe* in Kirkby's Inquest, thirteenth century (Wyld). The first el. of Levington or Levinton is the name of the river Lyne, early forms of which were *Levin*, *Leven*, perhaps confused with the pers. ns. *Leofwine* or *Leofing*, both of which were in common use (Searle). The form *Lingiveton* seems to be a misspelling. Compare Levy Holme.

KIRKOSWALD. Vil. 8 m. N.E. of Penrith.

Kircoswall P. R. 1167. *Kircoswald* Inq. 1260.

Kirkeosewod Ch. R. 1265.

Oswald was a common pers. n. in O.E. There were two English saints of this name, (1) the king of Northumbria who lived in the first half of the seventh century, and (2) the archbishop of York, who died 992 A.D. 'Kirk' is O.N. *kirkja*, 'church,' borrowed perhaps from O.E. *cirice*.

KIRKSANTON. Hml. in Millom Rural, 6 m. S.E. of Bootle.

Santacherche D. Bk. *Kirkesanton* F. F. 1202.

Kirkesantan R. St. B. c. 1190; Inq. 1296.

The third of these early forms points to *Sanctan*, the name of several Irish saints. There is a parish in the Isle of Man named Santan or Santon, called after St. Sanctan (Moore). After writing the above I asked the Rev. James Wilson, editor of the Victoria History of Cumberland, if he could furnish me with any information about this hml. He sent me the following interesting note in reply. 'I think that Santacherche, Kirksanton and Chapel Sucken, and Sunken Kirk (a megalithic circle), are all variants of the same idea. There was a chapel at Kirksanton early in the thirteenth century. . . . My own impression is that Kirksanton or Santacherche, is the church of St. Sanctan; you will notice how many names in that angle of Cumberland are also found in the Isle of Man. The only objection I can make to this is that the chapel of Thwaites, another township of that parish, is described in the consecration deed as 'capella Sanctae Annae in Thwaites,' but as the deed is dated 27 July 1725, it may be taken as the churchwarden version of the Irish dedication.'

KIRKSTEADS. Vil. 4 m. N.W. of Carlisle.

The terminal is either O.N. *staðr*, 'farmstead,' or O.E. *stede* 'place.' Kirkstead is also a Lincs. pl. n.

Knapethorn. Allhallows.

The first el. is perhaps the dialect word 'knap,' which means 'a small hill,' from O.E. *cnæp*, 'hilltop,' or O.N. *knappr*, 'knoll.' But Knape- may possibly represent the pers. n. *Cnapa*, *Knaf* (Searle), and the second el. may be O.E. or O.N. *þorn*, 'thorn-tree.'

Knockupworth. Grinsdale.

The first el. seems to be the dial. word *knock*, 'hill,' which, accord. to E.D.D., is the Gaelic *cnoc*, 'hillock'; cf. Welsh *cnwc*. It may, however, be O.N. *knjúkr* with the same meaning.

Grass Knop. Hutton-in-the-Forest.

Knop means 'hill,' 'knoll'; it is allied to Swedish *knopp*; also to O.E. *cnæp*, and O.N. *knappr*; cf. Knapethorn.

Knot. Cumwhitton.

The dialect word 'knot' means 'rocky, peaked eminence, a projection in a mountain side,' accord. to E.D.D. It is common in pl. ns., and is from O.E. *cnotta* or O.N. *knotttr*.

LACRA. [lākrā]. Hml. 2 m. N.W. of Millom Rural.

LAITHES. Hml. 4 m. N.W. of Penrith.

Les Laythes Test. K. 1362. *Les Lathes* Test. K. 1362.

This name is M.E. *lathe*, from O.N. *hlaða*, 'barn.' The orig. short *a* was lengthened in the open syllable and fronted to [ē], spelt *ai*, *ay*. In Cumb. this vowel is pronounced as a diphthong [iə]. We may compare *Laythes*, nr. Aikton, and *Low Laithe*, a hml. in W.R. Yorksh.; also *Latham*, Lancs.

LAMONBY. Hml. 1 m. W. of Skelton.

Lamblingby alias *Lam-*
benby Inq. 1243.

Lambeneby Ch. R. 1267;
P. R. 1257.

Lambenby L. S. 1332.

Lambanby Cl. R. 1348.

Lindkvist sees in the first el. *Lambin*, a 'pet form' of the Flemish man's name *Lambert*, *Lambrecht*. I prefer to derive it from the O.N. pers. n. *Langbein*, which is evidenced by the Anglicised form *Langbayn*, cited by Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 59. This name was orig. a nickname meaning 'long-legs.' For -by see *býr* in W.L.

LAMPLUGH. Par. 11½ m. N.E. of Whitehaven.

de Lanploch R. St. B. c.
1190.

de Lamplou P. R. 1211.

de Landploc R. St. B. 13 c.

de Landplou P. R. 1259.

de Lanplo P. R. 1181.

de Lamplow Inq. 1291.

I cannot suggest a derivation for this name.

LANERCOST. Par. 2¼ m. N.E. of Brampton.

Lanercost Foundation Ch.
1169; Cl. R. 1328; Test.
K. 1358.

Lanrecost P. R. 1195;
Pat. R. 1255.

This name also I cannot explain.

Lanerton. Gilsland.

Lanerton Cl. R. 1295; Inq. 1295.

LANGRIGG. Hml. nr. Bromfield.

Langrug P. R. 1189. *Langrig* P. R. 1195.

'Long ridge,' from O.E. *lang*, O.N. *langr*, and O.E. *hrycg*, or O.N. *hryggr*.

LANGWATHBY. Vil. on the Eden, 5 m. N.E. of Penrith.

Langewadebi P. R. 1159. *Langwadheby* P. R. 1230.

Langwathebi P. R. 1227. *Languetheby* Inq. 1292.

Langwardby Cl. R. 1227.

This name apparently means 'the farm by the long ford'; see *vaðr* and *býr* in W.L. There is a ford here at the foot of the hill. The form *Langwardby* seems to be due to confusion with the pers. n. *Landweard*.

LAVERSDALE. Vil. 3½ m. N.W. of Brampton.

Laversdale Inq. 1302. *Leveresdale* Inq. 1295; F. F. 1322.

'Leofhere's dale.' The spelling Laversdale is apparently a modern one.

LAWS, High. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Abbey Town.

O.E. *hlāw*, 'grave-mound,' 'knoll,' 'hill,' a common el. of pl. ns., either at the beginning or the end. See W.L.

LAYTHES. Hml. nr. Aikton.

See Laithes.

LAZONBY. Vil. on river Eden, 8 m. N.E. of Penrith.

Leisingebi D. Bk.; P. R. *Laysingbi* Inq. 1237.

1166.

Lasingby Pat. R. 1462.

The O.N. *leysingi*, meaning 'freedman,' was used as a pers. n. in England, but not in Scandinavia, as Björkman points out, *Nord. Pers.*, p. 92. He says it is not clear whether the first el. in pl. ns. is this pers. n. or the common noun from which it comes. Cf. Lazenby, N.R. Yorksh., which occurs in D. Bk. as *Leisingbi*.

LEADGATE. Hml. 2 m. S. of Alston.

For the second el. see *gata* in W.L.

LEEGATE. Hml. 3½ m. S.W. of Wigton.

See *gata* in W.L.

LEGBURTHWAITE. Hml. nr. Keswick.

Legberthwait Inq. 1302. *Lekburnthuayte* Inq. 1486.

Legburgthwate Camden 1695.

We may compare Legbourne, Lincs. The first el. seems to be a pers. n. not recorded, perhaps terminating in *beorn*. For -thwaite see *pveit* in W.L.

Lamon Nook. Hawksdale.

Prob. the O.E. pers. n. *Lēofman*, of which Searle cites a form *Leman*.

Lery Holme. Castle Sowerby.

Levinholme Inq. 1263.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Leofwine*; for Holme see *holmr* in W.L.

Liddel. Catlowdy.

This is the O.N. *hliðdalr*, 'valley formed by hill-sides.'

Linedraw. Torpenhow.

The first el. may be a pers. n. For -draw, cf. Dundraw. But perhaps the second el. is O.N. *vrá*, 'corner'; the *d* being epenthetic. The pl. n. *Linwra* occurs in W. Reg. c. 1240, as part of lands in Ainstable.

Linecrook. Stapleton, nr. river Lyne.

Crook means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a turn or bend in a stream'; it is from O.N. *krókr*, 'bend,' 'angle.'

LING HOLM. Isl. in Ullswater.

Ling is perhaps O.N. *lyng*, 'heather,' a word which occurs in several pl. ns., e.g. Lingay, an island in the Outer Hebrides, and Linga, the name of several islands in Orkn. and Shetl. Compare also Lingmoor Fell, Westm., and Lingmell, a mtn. in Cumb. For Holm see *holmr* in W.L.

LINGEY CLOSEHEAD. Hml. 1½ m. N. of Dalston.

For *Ling-* see preceding name. The terminal is O.N. *ey*, 'island,' 'river flat.'

Linskeldfield. Isel.

The first el. may be the gen. case of a pers. n., such as *Lind* or *Hlēowine* or *Lēofwine*; for *keld* see *kelda* in W.L.

LINSTOCK. Hml. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Carlisle.

Linstoc T. N. 1212.

Linstoke P. R. 1253.

Linstock Cl. R. 1291.

The first el. may be a pers. n., such as *Lina* or *Lind*, or *Hleowine* (Searle), or else O.E. *lind*, *linde*, 'lime-tree.' The second el. occurs in many pl. ns., especially in the southern counties, being often spelt *-stoke*, as in Basingstoke. There are only two or three other exx. in Cumb., e.g., Greystoke and Stockdalewath *q.v.*; one in Lancs., viz. Lostock, none in Yorksh., Lincs. or Northd. (see Jellinghaus, *Anglia*, xx, p. 320). It occurs also in many Continental names. Bosw. Tol. distinguish between (1) *stōc*, occurring almost exclusively in pl. ns., with the same meaning as *stow*, 'place,' and (2) *stocc*, 'tree-stump,' O.N. *stokkr*, which freq. occurs in charters as a landmark. In support of the meaning 'place' for *stōc*, B.-T. quote from the Ormulum *Crist inn opre stokess nemmneþþ þa possless hise brepre*. We may assume that both words are represented in modern pl. ns., but it is no longer possible to distinguish between them in the great majority of cases where there are no O.E. forms extant. Rygh points out, *N. G.*, p. 79, that it is not always possible to determine the orig. meaning of *stokkr* in Norse pl. ns. With the first el. of Linstock we may compare Linskeldfield; also *Linthwayt*, a form occurring in P. R. 1231; and *Lynthwayt* in Cl. R. 1362, though in the two latter cases the first el. may be O.E. *līn*, 'flax.'

Liscow. Troutbeck.

The second el. is apparently O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.' The first may be O.N. *hlið*, 'slope.'

(Foul) Loaning. Alston.

Compare Lonning. *Loaning* has the same meaning as *loan*, 'lane,' 'by-road,' 'an open, uncultivated piece of ground near a farm-house or village, in which the cows are milked; a field or paddock; a small common or park,' E.D.D.

Longcleugh. Bewcastle.

For *-cleugh* see **clōh* in W.L.

Lonning. Kirkclinton.

The same as *loaning*; see Loaning.

LORTON. Vil. 4 m. S.E. of Cockermouth.

Lorton P.R. 1198; Inq. 1285, 1292.

We may compare Lorton, Dorset. *Lortan hlæw* occurs in an O.E. charter, cited by Searle.

Lough. Brisco.

The word *lough* means 'a small cavity, a cave in a hill or rock,' E.D.D., from O.N. *laug*, 'bath,' 'basin,' or O.N. *lögr*. see Loweswater.

Loughrigg. St. Bees.

See Lough.

Lovelady Shield. Nenthead.

For Shield see *skjól* in W.L.

LOWESWATER. Par. 7 m. S. of Cockermouth.

Named from Loweswater Lake.

Lowswater R. St. B. c. *Laweswator* P. R. 1188.

1190. *Lousewatre* Cl. R. 1343.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of a pers. n. Nielsen cites an Old Danish pers. n. *Laghi*, which would account satisfactorily for the early form Lawes-.

Lowsay. Holme St. Cuthbert.

For the first el. see Loweswater; the second may be O.N. *ey*, 'island,' 'river-meadow.'

Lowsilly Hole. Tynehead.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *lögr*, 'sea,' 'water,' or else O.N. *lá*, which, accord. to Rygh, means 'marshy water.'

The second is O.E. *sylu*, *q.v.* in W.L.

LUND. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Lamplugh.

O.N. *lundr*, 'small wood,' 'grove.' This name occurs also in E.R. Yorksh. and in Lancs. Compare also Lound in Notts., Suff. and Lincs.

LYNESIDE. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Longtown.

The first el. is prob. the name of the river Lyne, close to

which the hml. lies. Lyne is also the name of a river in Peeblessh. and in Northd. The second el., if it is the word 'side,' is of comparatively modern formation. Cf. Lynefoot, Blackford. At the same time the first el. of Lyneside may be a pers. n. See Linskeld, Linstock. In this case the terminal would represent either O.N. *sætr*, or O.E. *hēafod*, for which see W.L.

Lyzziok. Little Crosthwaite.

Possibly O.N. *klið*, 'slope,' and O.N. *stk*, 'water channel,' 'drain.'

Malden Castle. Watermillock.

Malden occurs also in Durham, N.R. Yorks., and Dorset, in each case being applied to an ancient earthwork or fortification. The Old Roman road in Cumb. and Westm. called the Maiden Way, passes Maiden Castle at a short distance.

Mains. Deanscales.

This name occurs also in Scotl.; see Graymains.

MARYPORT. Tn. at mouth of the Ellen.

This town received its present name in 1756 (Whellan, p. 319). It was formerly the hml. of Ellenborough. The origin of the name is uncertain.

MATTERDALE. Par. 8 m. E. of Keswick.

Matherdal Inq. 1300. *Mathirdale* Cl. R. 1348.

Maderdale Inq. 1486.

Searle cites one instance of the pers.n. *Maðheri* for *Mæðhere*, and this may be the first el. The second el. is O.N. *dalr* or O.E. *dæl*, 'valley.'

MAUGHANBY. [mafnbi]. Pl. nr. Addingham.

de Merghanby Cl. R. 1288. *Merghangby* Inq. 1485.

Merghanby Test.K. 1358;

Cl. R. 1364.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n.; Maughan is a modern surname. The second is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

MAWBURY. Vil. 3 m. N. of Allonby.

Mayburg Holm C. Ch. 1175. *Mawbrugh* Holm C. Valuation 1537.

Judging by the early form *Mayburg*, the first el. seems to have been the pers. n. *Mæg.*, one instance of which is cited by Searle from a charter. The second el. is O.E. *burg* 'fortified place,' 'house or houses surrounded by embankment and ditch.' Compare Mayfield, Suss., and its early forms in Roberts, Suss. Pl. Ns.

MEALO. Hml. 3 m. W. of Aspatria.

Molehoke Cal. Orig. Deeds 1506.

Meal- seems to be O.N. *melr*, 'sandbank,' 'sandhill'; cf. Mealsgate, Eskmeals, and Mealrigg. The terminal -o may be for earlier -how, from O.N. *haugr*, O.E. *hōh*, 'mound,' 'tumulus,' which see in W.L. The name would thus mean 'sandhill'; cf. *Meelpot* Cl. R. 1303.

MEALRIGG. Hml. 3 m. W. of Bromfield.

O.N. *melr*, 'sandbank' and O.N. *hryggr*, 'ridge.'

MEALSGATE. Hml. in Boltons par.

O.N. *melr*, 'sandbank,' and O.N. *gata*, 'way,' 'road.' For the pl. form Meals- cf. Meols, Lancs.

Melbecks. Bassenthwaite.

Prob. from O.N. *melr*, 'sandhill,' and O.N. *bekkr*, 'brook.'

Mellguards. Wreay.

The first el. is either O.N. *melr*, 'sandhill,' or a pers. n. The second el. is O.N. *garðr*, 'enclosure,' 'field.'

MELMERBY. Vil. 8½ m. N.E. of Penrith.

Malmerbi Yorksh. D. Bk. 1300; F. F. 1324; Pat. R. c. 1087.

Melmorby Inq. 1216; Ch. R. 1314. *Malmerby* Ch. R. 1243; Cl. R. 1343.

The above are also early forms of the Yorksh. *Melmerby*. Lindkvist is inclined to think that the first el. represents **málmr*, the gen. sing. of O.N. *málmr*, in the sense of 'sandy field or ground,' (see Rygh, N.G., p. 67) and that in the course of the 13th cent. the original first el. was exchanged for the Celtic pers. n. *Melmor*. In Gospatric's Charter a certain *Melmor* is mentioned among some Cumbrian land-owners as living 'in Eadred's days.'

MICKLETHWAITE. Hml. 2 m. N. by E. of Wigton.

Michelethweit Plac. Ab- *Mikilthwayte* Inq. 1485.

brev. temp. John.

From O.N. *mikill* or O.E. *mycel* 'great,' and O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock.'

MIDDLESCEUGH. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Ivegill.

O.E. *middel*, or O.N. *meðal*, 'middle,' and O.N. *skógr*, 'wood' Compare Middlewood, a pl. n. in various counties.

MIDGEHOLME. Vil. 8 m. E. of Brampton.

Midgley in W.R. Yorksh. is derived by Moorman from O.E. *mycg*. 'midge,' and Midgham in Berks. is derived by Skeat from the same word. But we have to note that Midge Hall, Lancs., occurs in the early forms *Migelhalgh*, *Mygehalgh*, the first el. of which Wyld thinks may be O.E. *micel*, 'large.' I am inclined to seek the origin of the first el. in some pers. n. It is possible, of course, that *mycg* may have been used as a nickname. The second el. is O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L.

MILLOM. Tn. at S. extremity of Cumb.

de Millum Pat. R. 1229. *Milneholm* Cl. R. 1274.

Millum Ch. R. 1234; Cl.R. *Millom* Inq. 1298.

1285.

From O.E. *mylen* or O.N. *mylna*, 'mill,' and O.N. *hólmr*, 'island,' 'riverside meadow.' Many pl. ns. are compounded with 'mill'; cf. *Milneinge* Inq. 1300, *Milnpul* Cl. R. 1303; also Milnholm Cross in Roxburghsh.

MILTON. Vil. 1½ m. E. of Brampton.

Milton is a very common English pl. n. The first el. often represents O.E. *mylen* or O.N. *mylna*, 'mill,' or else it may be a contraction of O.N. *meðal* or O.E. *middel*, 'middle.'

Mire House. Whitehaven and elsewhere.

From O.N. *mýrr*, 'bog,' 'swamp.'

Mirkbooths. Raughton Head.

The second el. is O. Dan *bóð*, akin to O.N. *búð*, 'hut,' 'shed.' The first may be O.N. *myrkr*, 'dark,' used as a pers. n.

Mirkholme. Uldale.

See *hólmr* in W.L.; for Mirk- see preceding name.

MOCKERKIN. Hml. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Cockermouth.

Moldcorkin F. F. 1208.

Molcorkilne R. St. B. c.

Moldcarkyn F. F. 1208.

1220.

Morcorkin F. F. 1230.

In his forthcoming edition of the Register of St. Bees, the proofs of part of which he has kindly allowed me to read, Dr. James Wilson says in a note on *Molcorkilne*: "This isolated district is the centre of a group of Welsh legends which make Molkerkin the site of the city and castle of Morken, king of the Cumbri. Jocelyn of Furness (*Vita Kentegerni*, pp. 197-9, *Hist. of Scotland*) states that the king was buried in his royal town of Thorpmorken." The spelling *Morcorkin* of F. F. 1230 may be due to a Norman-French substitution of *r* for *l*, perhaps influenced by the pers. n. *Morcar*, *Morkere* (Searle).

MOORTHWAITE. Hml. nr. Cumwhitton.

Mortwayt Inq. 1242.

Morthwayt Ch. R. 1267.

From O.E. or O.N. *mōr*, 'moor,' and O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock.'

MORESBY. Vil. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Whitehaven.

Moryceby F. F. 1394.

de Moriceby P. R. 1195, 1252.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Maurice*, cited by Searle in the Lat. form *Mauricius*. For the second see *býr* in W.L. Croft Morris is a farm nr. Moresby.

MOSEDALE. Par. 5 m. N.W. of Troutbeck.

Mosedale Inq. 1252.

The first el. appears to be O.N. *mosi*, O.E. *mos*, 'peat bog,' found in many Cumb. and Lancs. pl. ns. as 'moss.' For the second see *dalr* in W.L.

MOSSER. Par. 4 m. S. of Cockermouth.

Mosergh Inq. 1298; Cl. R.

Moserghfeld Cl. R. 1349.

1322; F. F. 1356.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *mosi*, O.E. *mos*, 'peat bog,' 'marsh.' The second el. is *erg*, the O.N. form of the Celtic

airidh or *airigh*, 'hut among hill pastures,' 'shieling,' This word occurs in numerous pl. ns. in Cumbd., Westmd., Lancs. and Yorksh.; see *erg* in W.L.

MOTHERBY. Hml. 5 m. N. of Penrith.

Moderbi Inq. 1252. *Mothersby* Inq. 1293.

Motherby Inq. 1300; Cl. R. 1323; Test. K. 1362.

The 1293 form points to the gen. case of a pers. n. Searle cites a pers. n. *Motheri*, which he normalises as *Modhere*. *Modred*, a Cornish pers. n., occurs in an O.E. charter. Cf. Motherwell, Lanarksh. The second el. is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

MUNCASTER. Par. 1½ m. E. of Ravenglass. Once a Roman station.

Mulecaster P. R. 1235. *Mulcastre* Cl. R. 1294; Inq. 1298.

The first el. may be, as Prescott, W. Reg., p. 202 n., suggests, Celtic *moel*, 'bare hill,' 'headland'; cf. the Mull of Cantire. Or it may be O.N. *múli*, with much the same meaning. For the second el. see *ceaster* in W.L. The change from *l* to *n* is prob. a modern corruption.

MUNGRISDALE. Vil. 5½ m. S. of Hesket Newmarket.

The first el. seems to be the gen. case of a pers. n., such as O.N. *Mundgerðr* (Rygh). For the second see *dalr* in W.L.

Nicolson and Burn mention 'Grisedale or Mungrisedale.' Mr. W. G. Collingwood thinks this name is Grisedale with a prefix 'monk' or 'Mungo.' He cites *Grisdale*, German miners' accounts, c. 1570. But it seems rather that Grisedale might be a shortened form of Mungrisedale.

MURRAH. Forms a par. with Berrier.

Murwra Inq. 1300, 1486.

Lindkvist derives the first el. from O.N. *múrr*, 'brick or stone wall.' It is, I think, more likely to be identical with that of the next name. Murrah is on the edge of a high moor. For the second el. see *vrd* in W.L.

MURTON. Hml. 1¼ m. S.E. of Lamplugh.

Morton Ch. R. 1290; Inq. 1298. *Moretone* Cl. R. 1294.

The first el. is either O.E. or O. N. *mōr*, 'moor,' or a pers. n.

Mor, which seems to be attested by the form *Mores burh*, cited by Searle from an O.E. charter. See Murton, Westm.

NAWORTH. Hml. 2½ m. N.E. of Brampton.

Naward Inq. 1486.

The second el. may be O.N. *varða*, 'beacon.' The first may be a pers. n. such as *Naðr* (Rygh).

NEALHOUSES. Hml. 6 m. S.W. of Carlisle.

- ✓ **NETHER-**. Frequently used with pl. ns., as Netherby, Netherton, from O.E. *neoðor*, *niðor*, or O.N. *neðarr*, 'lower.'
- ✓ **NEW-**. As in Newby, Newlands, etc.; very common in pl. ns., from O.E. *niwe*, M.E. *neu*.

NEWBIGGIN. Haml. 3 m. S.W. of Penrith.

The second el. is O.N. *bygging*, 'farmstead.' This name occurs also in Westm., and several instances occur in S. Durh.

NEWTON. (1) Hml. nr. Whitbeck, (2) par. with Allonby.

The name explains itself.

NEWTON ARLOSH. See Arlosh.

NEWTON REIGNY. See Reigny.

NICHOL FOREST. Par. 11 m. N.E. of Longtown.

Foresta de Nicholas Cl. R. 1346.

So called after Nicholas de Stuteville, once proprietor of this district (Ferguson).

NIXON. Hml. 12 m. N.E. of Longtown.

Named after the Nixon or Nickson clan; see C.W.N.S. xi, 57.

Norman. Caldbeck.

This is perhaps the pers. n. *Norman*, earlier *Northman*. Norman is an old Cumberland surname.

NORTHSCEUGH. Hml. 3½ m. S.E. of Cumwhitton.

This name means 'northern wood,' from O.N. *norð* and O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.'

NUNCLOSE. Hml. nr. Hesket.

This name means 'close or enclosed part of land belonging to a nunnery,' *i.e.* the Benedictine nunnery of Armathwaite. It is therefore of comparatively late formation. 'Close' is from O. French *clos*. 'Nun' is O.E. *nunne*. Compare the next name.

Nunfield. Cumwhitton.**Ocker.** Sebergham.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Oca*, *Occa*; the second may be O.N. *erg*, 'summer pasture,' as in Docker, Westm. See in W.L.

Onset. (1) Bewcastle, (2) Hethersgill.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Ona*, *Ono* (Searle); and the second either O.E. *hēafod* or O.N. *sætr*; see in W.L.

Ormathwaite. Keswick.

This name may possibly be the same as Armathwaite, *q.v.* Or else the first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Ormarr*. For the second see *pveit* in W.L.

ORTHWAITE. Hml. 7 m. N. of Keswick.

The second el. is O.N. *pveit*, 'clearing,' 'piece of land.' The first may be the same as that of Orton, *q.v.* John Denton, 1610, has Overthwaite.

ORTON. Vil. 5 m. S.W. of Carlisle.

Orreton P. R. 1226; Ch. R. 1267. *Oreton* Test. K. 1376.

This name occurs in Westm. and in several other counties. Orton, Hunts., occurs in O.E. charters as *Oferton*, and is derived by Skeat from O.E. *ōfer*, 'river-bank.' This seems also to be the origin of Oreton, Staffs. (Duignan), and Orton, Westm., *q.v.* But if this were the origin of the Cumb. Orton, we should have expected to find *Overton* among the early forms. Besides, there is no river near the village which could have originated this name. Perhaps the first el. is a pers. n., such as *Ord* which occurs as first el. in *Ordgar*, *Ordwulf*, etc.; see Wyld's remarks *sub. v.* Ordsall and Orford, Lancs.

OUGHTERBY. Hml. 7 m. W. of Carlisle.*Uchtredebi* P. R. 1193. *Ughtreby* Cl. R. 1321;*Ughtrethby* Ch. R. 1295. Inq. 1297.*Ughterby* Inq. 1485.

‘The farm of Uhtred,’ a common O.E. pers. n.

OUGHTERSIDE. Par. 6 m. N.E. of Maryport.*Ughtredsate* Cl. R. 1344. *de Ughtrichassat* Inq. 1297.*Ughtreset* Inq. 1297.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Uhtred*; the second may be either O.N. *sætr*, ‘summer dairy farm,’ or O.N. *setr*, ‘dwelling,’ ‘homestead’ (see Rygh, N.G., p. 74). The terminal of the form *Ughtrichassat* makes one think of that of *Blennerhasset*, *q.v.* It is possible that there may have been originally alternative forms of this terminal, from O.N. *sætr*, ‘dairy pasture,’ and *hásætr*, ‘high pasture,’ respectively.

OULTON. Vil. 2 m. N.W. of Wigton.*Ulveton* Inq. 1252, 1291; Cl. R. 1318.

‘The farm or enclosure of Ulf.’ *Ulf*, the Norse equivalent of O.E. *Wulf*, was a very common pers. n. The Normans confused the two forms, as Björkman points out, N. Pers., p. 166 n. Cf. Uldale, Ousley, and Owlhurst.

OUSBY. Vil. 9 m. N.E. of Penrith.*Ulvesbi* P. R. 1214. *Ulfesby* Cl. R. 1294.*Ulvesby* Cl. R. 1227; Inq. 1298. *Ulseby* Test. K. 1354.‘The farm of Ulf’; see preceding name. See *býr* in W.L.**OUTERSIDE QUARTER.** A division of the par. of Castle Carrock.*Ughtersyde* Inq. 1463.

Outerside is also the name of a mtn., 3 m. S.W. of Braithwaite. It is the same name as Oughterside, *q.v.*

Outhwaite. Renwick.

There is also an Outhwaite in Lancs. This name is pretty certainly the *terra Hen. de Ulvesthwaite* or *Hulveswait*, W. Reg. c. 1223. The first el. is the poss. case of the pers. n. *Ulf*; see Ousby. For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L.

Outgang. Branthwaite.

le Outgang Cl. R. 1303.

This word has in Cumberland, accord. to E.D.D., the special meaning of 'a narrow strip of land connecting the common with the farmyard or village.'

OVERBY. Hml. 5 m. W.S.W. of Abbey Town.

The first el. is prob. O.N. *ofarr*, 'above,' 'higher up.' The meaning would thus be 'the upper farm.'

Owlhurst. Stapleton.

From the pers. n. *Ulf* and O.E. *hyrst*, 'copse.'

OXHOUSE OAKS. Pl. nr. Edenhall.

Ossehowes Cl. R. 1294.

The first el. may be the same as that of Oxtun, W.R. Yorksh., the D. Bk. forms of which are *Ositone*, *Ossitone* (Moorman), and may represent either *Oswig* or *Oswiu*, common pers. ns. in O.E. charters (Searle). The second el. seems to be a plural, from O.N. *haugr*, 'tumulus,' which was confused with O.E. *hōh*, pl. *hōs*.

Paddockwray. Eskdale.

Paddock is a 'corruption' of M.E. *parrok*, from O.E. *pearroc*, 'enclosure.' Compare Parrocks, Westm. Wray is O.N. *vrá*, 'corner or tongue of land.'

Pannelholme. Ulpha.

For -holme see *hólmr* in W.L. The first el. is prob. a pers. n.

PAPCASTLE. Vil. 1 m. W.N.W. of Cockermouth, by some authorities identified with the *Aballaba* of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Papecaster Min. A. 1265. *Papecastre* Inq. 1286; Cl.R. 1300.

Papcastle F. F. 1301.

The first el. may be the same as that of Papworth, Cambs., which Skeat derives from *Pappa* or *Papa*, a pers. n. occurring in an O.E. charter (Birch, Cart. Sax. ii, 246). Searle cites the name *Papo* only. Nielsen cites *Papi* as an old Danish pers. n. But the name may be from O.N. *papar*, 'priests.'

PARDSHAW. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of Dean.

Perdyshow F. F. 1396.

The first el. may be the same as in Perdiswell, Worc., an early form of which is *Pardeswelle* (Duignan, Worc. Pl. Ns., p. 127). It prob. represents a pers. n. The second el. seems to be O.N. *haugr*, 'tumulus,' 'cairn,' 'hill,' dial. 'how.'

PARTON. Seaport $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Whitehaven.

Partan Cl. R. 1288.

Partyn Inq. 1457.

Partane F. F. 1396.

Perton Inq. 1485.

This name occurs in Heref. and Kirkcudbr. It is to be noticed that the earliest forms do not end in *-ton*. The name may represent *Peartan*, gen. of *Pearta*, an O.E., pers. n. found in an O.E. charter; see Skeat, Bedf. Pl. Ns., p. 23, *sub voce* Pertenhall. The orig. form may have been *Peartantūn*, which occurs as the modern pl. n. Partington, Chesh., the terminal *-tun* being afterwards dropped.

PELUTHO. Hml. 3 m. W.S.W. of Holme St. Cuthbert.

Pollathow Valuation of 29 H viii.

Means, accord. to Collingwood, 'Pool lathe-how'; he adds, 'pretty certainly the grange *de Ternis*, 'of the tarns.' There is a farmstead in the neighbourhood called Pelothomire.

PENRITH. Town on river Eamont, 18 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Penrith W. Reg. c. 1110.

Penreth Ch.R. 1291; Cl.R.

Penred P. R. 1167, 1223;

1293.

Ch. R. 1290; Pat. R. 1238.

Penereth W. Reg. c. 1190;

Cl. R. 1362, 1372.

Penredh P.R. 1230.

Penret P. R. 1202.

It seems likely that this name is Celtic. The comparison with Penrydd in Pembrokesh. at once suggests itself. *Pen* is Welsh for 'mountain,' 'hill'; *rhyd* means 'ford,' 'passage,' and occurs in many Welsh pl. ns. Rhyd is a ferry on the Severn in Worc.; cf. also Rhydowen, a ford in Cardigansh. There were once two fords over the Eamont near Penrith. The name might thus mean 'the ford by the hill.' At the same time the second el. may possibly represent O.N. *rjóðr*, 'glen in a forest'; cf. Rydal, Westm. The chief objection

to the derivations above suggested is that the terminal of all the early forms but one has *e* and not *i* as we should expect from *rhyd* or *rjóðr*. Yet here we may note an early form *Gilredh* occurring in a charter of the early 13 c. cited in C.W.N.S. viii, 247.

PENRUDDOCK. Vil. 7½ m. W. by S. of Penrith.

Penruddoc 1328 (F. W. R.).

This also may be a Celtic name. The Welsh words *pen*, 'hill,' and *rhuddawc*, 'ruddy,' have been suggested, but there are no eminences of a striking nature in the immediate neighbourhood. The soil, however, here and towards Penrith, is of a deep chocolate red, when exposed by the plough.

PENTON. Hml. 1½ m. S.W. of Nichol Forest.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Penda*, or else *Pend*, the first el. of several pers. ns. (Searle).

Peppermoss. Nichol Forest.

Pepper- is perhaps the O. Dan. pers. n. *Pipær* cited by Nielsen. Moss is O.N. *mosi* or O.E. *mos*, 'bog.'

PETTERILL WRAY. Hml. 9 m. N.W. of Penrith, on the river Petterill.

Petrell Cl. R. 1362; Test. *Peterelwra* Cl. R. 1350;
K. 1380. L. S. 1332.

PICA. Vil. 2 m. S.E. of Distington.

Pikehou Inq. 1304.

From the pers. n. *Pic*, *Picco* (Searle), and O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound.'

(Whole) Pippin. Whicham.

Perhaps the pers. n. *Pippen*, cited by Searle.

PLASKET LANDS. Hml. 6 m. W. by S. of Abbey Town.

PLUMLAND. Vil. 6 m. N.E. of Cockermouth.

Plumlund Pat. R. 1229; *Plomland* Cl. R. 1318.
P. R. 1246. *Plumbland* Inq. 1486.
Plumland F. F. 1279.

For *Plumb-* see Plumpton. -Land may be O.N. *lundr*, 'grove'; otherwise from O.E. *land*, 'unenclosed land.' Reginald of Durham gives *Plumbelund* in *Alredale* c. 1165, N. and D. ch. 129.

The Plump. Kirkandrews-upon-Esk.

Written *Plompe* on a 1552 map. 'Plump' is a N. country word meaning 'clump of trees,' accord. to E.D.D.

PLUMPTON. Vil. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.W. of Penrith.

Plumton Inq. 1238; Cl. R. Cl. R. 1307.

1276.

Plomton Launde Cl. R.

Plumpton Pat. R. 1274; 1342.

Plumpton also occurs in W.R. Yorksh. and Lancs.; both Moorman and Wyld derive the first el. from O.E. *plūme*, 'plum.' I am inclined rather to see in it the common pers. n. *Plegmund*, which occurs in the forms *Pleumund* and *Plemund* (Searle). This name may also be the first el. of Plumbland.

PONSONBY. Par. on river Calder.

Puncuneby Lanc. Priv. *de Ponzonby* Cl. R. 1294.

Deeds, c. 1243.

Pynchonby alias *Punch-*
onby Inq. 1298.

Punzanby F. F. 1242.

Punzineby F. F. 1246.

Punsunby Cl. R. 1300.

Punchonby Cl. R. 1322.

In P.R. for Cumb. 1178 the name John, son of *Puncun*, *Punzun* occurs. This name may perhaps be the same as M.E. *punchoun*, *punsoun* from Gascon *pouchoun*, M.F. *poinson*, 'a pricker, dagger, pointed instrument'; in this case it would be a nickname, perhaps due to trade or occupation. For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

Poplin Dub. Greystoke.

'Dub' is a north country word meaning, accord. to E.D.D., 'a small pool of rain-water; a puddle; a small pond or pool of water; a deep, still pool in a river.' Poplin is the present participle of 'poppie,' a N. country and Scottish word meaning 'to bubble, boil up like water,' E.D.D.

PORTINSCALE. Vil. $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Keswick.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Pearta*, in the gen. case ending in *-an*; cf. Parton. The second el. is O.N. *skáli* 'hut,' 'shed,' found in many pl. ns. in the N. of England; see W.L. We may compare Portincross Castle, Ayrsh.

POWHILL. Hml. nr. Kirkbride.

Pow- is a N. Country and E. Anglian form of 'pool,' with the meaning of 'a slow-moving rivulet; a watery or marshy place,' E.D.D. It is from O.E. *pōl*.

Pow Motey. Bromfield.

See preceding article.

POWTER HOW. Nr. Thornthwaite.

Poltraghaue, mentioned in Inq. 1485 as a tenement in Bewcastle, may be the same word as Powter How. We may compare *Polterheued*, Lanercost Found. Ch. 1169. For How see *haugr* in W.L.

Raby Cote. Newton Arlosh.

Rabi Holmc. Found. Ch. 1150; Ch. R. 1189.

Lindkvist derives the first el. from *rá*, 'line,' 'landmark,' but it is just as likely to be a pers. n., such as *Hraði*, *Raði* (Rygh). Raby also occurs in Chesh. and Durh. For -by see *býr* in W.L. For Cote see *cott* in W.L. Collingwood takes Raby to mean 'a farm on the boundary (*rá*) of, or wedged in between, two greater estates,' Sc. Br., p. 194.

Rack. Bewcastle.

'Rack,' a narrow track or pathway,' seems to be chiefly used in the Midlands and southern counties. It is O.E. *racu* 'path.'

Rack Gate. Stapleton.

See preceding n.; -gate is O.N. *gata*, 'road.'

Rain House. Raughton Head.

'Rain' is a common dialect word in England, Scotland and Ireland, meaning 'a balk in a field,' i.e., a strip of unploughed land round an arable field or between the divisions of the old town-fields. 'Rain,' which is spelt in many different ways,

is O.N. *rein*, which has the same meaning. Several places are named from features of the town-field system. *Ranylands* in Salkeld is mentioned in an early terrier; Prescott, W. Reg. p. 373. Compare Rayne, Westm.

Rainors. Gosforth [*rénārā*].

Rake Foot. Keswick.

A 'rake' in the N. of Engl. and in Scotl. means 'a range or walk for cattle, sheep, etc.,' E.D.D. It is from O.N. *rák*, 'cattle route.'

RAMPSHOLM. Islet in Derwentwater.

This name occurs also in N.R. Yorksh., and is prob. the same as Rampson, Westm., and Ramsholm, Lancs. The latter name Wyld derives, rightly, I think, from the pers. n. *Hræfn*, which under various forms such as *Hrafn*, *Rafn*, *Ram* was common in England in the tenth and eleventh cents.; see Björkman, N. Pers., p. 109. We may also compare Rampside, Lancs. For the second el. see *holmr* in W.L. Mr. W. G. Collingwood thinks the name Rampsholm, as well as Rampholme, the name of islands in Ullswater and Windermere, is derived from the 'ramps' or wild garlic growing on these islands.

Randal Holme. Alston.

Raynerholme Inq. 1370.

Randerholme, Deed in Tully House, 1579.

Randal Holme was an important pele-tower, probably on the site of the manor house of Randolph de Levington who owned it. We may compare *Randolffsete* in Plumpton Park, Forest Pleas, 1285 (Collingwood). But the first el. may represent *reinar*, plur. of O.N. *rein*, or the pers. n. *Regnhere*.

Randalinton. Brackenhill.

Randulves Levington Inq. 1248.

Randolf Levyngton Inq. 1242; Cl. R. 1359.

Randulflevigton Inq. 1299.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Randulf*; for the second see Kirklington.

Randylands. Askerton.

The first el. is either the pers. n. *Randi*, cited by Nielsen, or *Randulf*.

Rannerdale. (1) Buttermere, (2) Brackenthwaite.

Ranner- may be the pers. n. *Regnhere*, *Reinere* (Searle).

RAUGHTON HEAD. [raftn] Hml. 2 m. S.E. of Dalston.

Ragton P. R. 1182.

Raghton Inq. 1290.

Racton P. R. 1186, 1222.

Ratton T. N. circa 1212.

de Raufstone T. N. c. 1220.

The first el. is possibly O.N. *rák*, 'pasture land,' 'cattle route,' but more probably the O.N. pers. n. *Rakki*. We may perhaps compare Racton, Sussex. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L. The guttural stop [k] normally becomes a spirant before [t]; cf. Broughton. The spelling *Raufstone* is by a Norman scribe.

RAVENGLASS. Seaport at head of the Esk estuary.

Renglas P. R. 1208.

Ranglas Cl. R. 1294; Ind.

Renglass F. F. 1208.

Loc. temp. Ed. II.

Ravenglas Cl. R. 1297.

Ravenglasse Inq. 1298.

The terminal -glass has led some to derive the name from the Celtic. The Welsh *yr-afon-(g)las*, 'the blue river,' or *yr-hafn-(g)las*, 'the blue harbour,' have been suggested. Others see in the terminal the Gaelic word *glas*, 'small stream.' I am inclined to derive the name from the O.N. pers. n. *Hrafnkell*, a short form of *Hrafnketell*, and O.N. *óss*, 'estuary,' 'mouth of river.' The latter word, accord. to Rygh, is often confused with O.N. *áss*, 'mountain-ridge.' Of *Hrafnkell* E. H. Lind gives a number of examples, and it occurs frequently in D. Bk. as *Ravenchil*, *Ranchil*, etc. (Björkman). The objection to deriving the terminal from *óss* is that O.N. *ó* would not normally result in *a* in M.E. But 'popular etymology' would account for this by confusing the terminal with the word 'glass.'

Ray Garth. Kirkoswald.

Ray is prob. O.N. *rá*, 'landmark.'

REDMAIN. Part of combined par., 3 m. E. of Cockermouth.
de Rademan P. R. 1202. *Redman* Inq. 1291; F. F.
de Radoman P. R. 1203. 1384.
Redmane Test. K. 1356.

This can hardly be other than the pers. n. *Radman*, cited in one of the lists given by Ellis in his Introduction to D. Bk. This name may be a late form of *Rædmund*, of which Searle cites several instances. *Ræd-* would give in Middle Engl. either *Rad-* or *Red-*, according to the dialect.

Red Wing. Tynehead.

This is probably a case of 'popular etymology'; the original being the pers. n. *Rædwine* (Searle).

(Newton) **REIGNY.** Vil. 2½ m. N.W. of Penrith.

de Reigni P. R. 1185. *Newton Reynye* Inq. 1293.
de Regini P. R. 1187. *Neuton Reigny* Cl. R.
 1348.

Perhaps this name represents the pers. n. *Regenwig*, one instance of which is cited by Searle.

RENWICK. Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Kirkoswald; nr. Raven Beck.
de Ravenwick P. R. 1178. *Ranewich* P. R. 1191.
Ravenewic' Cl. R. 1237. *Raveneswic* W. Reg. c.
 1240.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Hræfn*, *Hrafn*. The second el. is either O.E. *wīc*, 'dwelling-place,' 'village,' or O.N. *vīk*, 'creek,' 'cove,' 'opening, which gave the M.E. *wike*, 'corner,' 'cranny.'

RIBTON. Par. 5 m. W. of Cockermouth.

Ribbeton R. St. B. 12 c.; F. F. 1308.

RICKERBY. Pl. 1 m. N.E. of Carlisle.

Ricardeby Inq. 1237. *Ricardby* Inq. 1297.

'The farm of Richard.' Rickerby was in the possession of Richard Tilliol in the early 12th cent. (J. Denton, p. 152). Richard appears as *Rikarðr* in O.N. (Lind), and as *Ricard* in O.E. (Searle). *By* is from O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

RIDDINGS. Pl. 14 m. N. of Carlisle.

This is also the name of a town in Derbysh.; for its origin see Glen Ridding, Westm.

ROBBERBY. Hml. 7 m. N.E. of Penrith.

de Robertby Inq. 1395.

'The farm of Robert.' The pers. n. *Hroethbeorht*, *Hrodbeorht*, had later forms *Rodbert*, *Robert* (Searle). For the second el. see *býr* in W.L.

ROCKLIFF. Vil. 4 m. N.W. of Carlisle.

de Rodcliva P. R. 1185.

Routheclif Inq. 1244.

de Roudecliva P. R. 1185.

Routheclive Pat. R. 1288.

Radeclive P. R. 1204.

Rouckecliffe Inq. 1304.

Routheclive Cl. R. 1235.

Rouclif Cl. R. 1346.

These early forms correspond to those of Rawcliffe, Lancs., and W.R. Yorksh. The first el. is O.N. *rauðr*, 'red'; the second is O.N. *klif* or O.E. *clif*, 'cliff.' Compare Radcliff, Lancs. Rockcliff is situated on a lofty cliff above the river Eden.

Rodding Head. Nichol Forest.

'Rodding(s)' means a lane leading to a village; cf. Silloth Roddings. E.D.D.

ROSLEY. Vil. 5 m. S.E. of Wigton.

Rosseleye Eyre of Wm. de Vescy 1285.

The first el. may be the same as in Rosgill, Westm., *q.v.* The second el. is prob. O.E. *lēah*, 'meadow.'

ROSTHWAITE. Vil. 6 m. S. of Keswick.

The first el. may be the same as in Rosgill, Westm., *q.v.* For the second see *pveit* in W.L.

Rotherhope or Rodderup. Alston.

The first el. is prob. either *Hroðheard* or *Hrothweard*. The second is O.N. *hópr*, 'small creek.' We may compare *Rothersat* an early form in Furness Coucher.

Rothersike. Egremont.

For the first el. see preceding name. For the second see *sík* in W.L.

ROTTINGTON. Par. 1 m. N.W. of St. Bees.

Rotingtona R. St. B. early 12 c. *de Rotington* P. R. 1211;
Cl. R. 1294, 1322.

Rodyngton F. F. 1421.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Hroðwine*. Compare Rottingdean, Suss.

Rougholme. Waberthwaite.

The first el. is perhaps the O. Dan. pers. n. *Rugh*, cited by Nielsen. Or it may be simply 'rough.' For -holme see *hólmr* in W.L.

Roughet Hill. Castle Carrock.

For first el. see preced. name. The terminal -et may represent O.E. *hēafod*, *q.v.* in W.L.

Roughton. Ennerdale.

For -ton see *tūn* in W.L. The first el., Rough-, of this name occurs in many pl. ns. as Rock-, Roch-, Rough-. It prob. represents a pers. n., such as *Roc* or *Ruga*; it may, however, be the same as in the two preceding names.

ROULHOLME, Ruleholme. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Brampton.

The first el. is perhaps the same as that of Roweltown, *q.v.*, and may represent the Scand. pers. n. *Hroald*, *Rold* (Björkman). We may compare *Ruletwait*, an early form of a Westm. pl. n. in a Whitby Charter of 1268.

ROUTENBECK. Pl. nr. Wythop, at N.W. end of Lake Bassenthwaite.

Compare Routenburn House in Ayrsh., also Routing Burn, and Routen Syke, Cumb. The first el. is the pres. participle of the verb 'to rout,' meaning 'to make a loud noise,' from O.N. *rauta*, O.E. *hrūtan*.

Routen Syke. Arlecdon.

See preceding name.

Routledge Burn. Bewcastle.

Doubtless from the Routledge clan, who lived there in the 16th cent.

ROWELTOWN. Pl. 12 m. N.N.E. of Carlisle, nr. Stapleton.

Rowell occurs in Westm. and in Gloucester. For the first el. see Roulholme. -town seems a modern spelling of -ton; see *tūn* in W.L. But the name is prob. not old.

ROWRAH. Pl. 1½ m. S.E. of Arlecdon.

Rucwrahek R. St. B. 1248.

The second el. of Rowrah is O.N. *vrá* 'corner of a field.'

RUCKCROFT. Vil. 3 m. N.W. of Kirkoswald.

Rucroft P. R. 1211. *Rowcrofte* Ind. Loc. 1572.

Alderruccrofte W. Reg. c. 1241.

The first el. is perhaps either the pers. n. *Ruta*, or the pers. n. *Rugh* (Nielsen), *Ruga* (Searle), or else O.N. *rugr*, 'rye'; for -croft see *croft* in W.L.

RUTHWAITE. Hml. 1 m. W. of Uldale.

Rugthwayt P. R. 1255; *Ruthwayt* F. F. 1255.

Cal. R. 1304. *Ruthwuuayt* Inq. 1285.

Rughthweyt Inq. 1295.

The first el. is perh. the pers. n. *Ruga* (Searle). Lindkvist, however, derives it from O.N. *rugr*, 'rye,' and adduces O. Scand. pl. ns. as parallels. For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L.

ST. BEES. Coast town 5 m. S. of Whitehaven.

Sancte Bege 12 cent. R. St. B. *Begekirk* Test. K. 1358.

Bega, otherwise Begha or Begu, was a female saint. See Bede, Eccl. Hist., iv, 23. This saint's name seems to occur also in Beal or Beaghall, W.R. Yorksh., accord. to Moorman. The priory of St. Bees was also a cell of the Abbey of St. Mary at York. Mr. W. G. Collingwood writes: "There is a late legend that this saint was Irish. I think the Irish character of St. Bees can be explained by Irish Viking settlement c. 900, and the adoption of the already sacred site, as the monuments show pretty plainly, by people with Irish traditions."

SALKELD. Great Salkeld is a vil. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Penrith;
Little Salkeld is a par. 4 m. S.E. of Lazonby.

Salchild W. Reg. c. 1100.

Salochild Cl. R. 1237.

Salkylly P. R. 1251.

Salighild Ch. R. 1242.

Salehhild P. R. 1164.

Saleghull Pat. R. 1242.

Saleghill P. R. 1180.

Salukild P. R. 1254.

Saulhill T. N. 1212.

Salukeld Pat. R. 1274.

Salkhull Cl. R. 1230.

This name means 'the spring among the willows'; from O.E. *salig* or *salh*, 'willow,' each of which is represented in the early forms, and O.N. *kelda*, 'spring,' 'brook.' The forms in *-hill* are more likely to be corruptions of *-keld* than *vice versa*.

SALTCOATS. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Newton Arlosh.

Saltcoats is known to be the site of the salt-making industry in the sixteenth cent. See C.W.N.S., xiv. Coats is from O.E. *cott* or O.N. *kot*, 'house,' 'hut.'

SALTER. Par. 6 m. S.E. of Whitehaven.

Salterge R. St. B. 12 c.

The first el. I cannot explain; the second is O.N. *erg*, 'summer pasture.'

Sandraw. Bromfield.

The second el. may be either O.N. *rá*, 'boundary-mark,' or O.N. *drag*; for which see Dundraw. The first el. is O.N. *sandr*, O.E. *sand*, 'sand,' or else the O.N. pers. n. *Sandr* (Lind).

SANDWITH. Vil. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of St. Bees.

de Sandewath Cl. R. 1294.

For the first el. see preceding name. The second is O.N. *vaðr* 'shallow,' 'shoal,' often confused in pl. ns. with O.N. *viðr* 'wood.'

SANTON. Hml. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Ravenglass.

Santon Cl. R. 1294; Inq. 1298. *Sampton* L. S. 1332.

The first el. is either O.E. *sand*, or the pers. n. *Sandr*. The form *Sampton* shows an epenthetic *p*; cf. Bampton.

Saugh. Bewcastle.

From O.E. *salh*, 'willow.'

Saughtrees. Bewcastle.

See preceding name.

SCALE, SCALES. Occurs in Scale Force, Scale Knott, Scaleby, etc.

Scal Ch. R. 1290. *Skales* Inq. 1293.

See *skáli* in W.L.

Scalelands. Frizington.

The first el. is O.N. *skáli*, 'hut,' 'shieling.'

Scallow. Arlecdon.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *skáli*; the second perhaps O.E. *hlāw*, 'hill,' or else O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound.'

Scare. Kirklington.

This is a dial. word, also spelt scar, scaur, scower, etc., which accord. to E.D.D. has a great variety of meanings; see *sker* in W.L. Cf. Scaur.

SCARROMANICK. Hml. nr. Croglin, 6 m. N. of Kirkoswald.

Scalremanoch W. Reg. c. 1240. *Scallermanok* Inq. 1485.

The first part of this name, Scarro-, is doubtless the same as in the next name. Of the latter part, -manick, I can make nothing. It is worth noting that *Mannok* occurs as the name of a man in Pat. R. 1402. Compare also *de Cormaynoc*, W. Reg. c. 1240.

Scarrow Hill. Cumwhitton.

Scalewra W. Reg. c. 1240. *Scalwra* Inq. 1485.

This name is from O.N. *skáli*, 'hut,' 'shieling,' and O.N. *vrá*, 'corner,' 'angle of land.' The form *Stalewra*, occurring in Ch. R. 1267, is prob. a misspelling for *Scalewra*.

Scaur. Irthington.

See Scare.

SCEUGHHEAD. Hml. nr. Ivegill.

Means 'the head of the wood'; see *skógr* and *hēafod* in W.L. Compare also Shawhead.

Scoughmire. 4 m. S.W. of Carlisle.

From O.N. *skógr*, 'wood,' and O.N. *mýrr*, 'bog,' 'swamp.'

Scogill. Lorton.

The first el. is O.N. *skógr*, 'wood,' or the pers. n. *Skógr*; the second is O.N. *gil*, 'ravine.'

SCOTBY. Vil. 2½ m. E. of Carlisle.

Scoteby W. Reg. c. 1155.

Scotteby Pat. R. 1242.

Scottubi P. R. 1167.

Shoteby Cl. R. 1236.

Scot is cited by Searle as a pers. n.; he cites *Scottes healh* from a charter. The name may have been originally a nickname denoting the nationality of its bearer. But it is more probable that the name originated in the fact that the place was a manor of the King of Scots in the 12th cent. See Prescott, W. Reg., p. 41. For -by see *býr* in W.L.

Scugg Gate. Riddings.

Scugger House. Upperby.

This name, like the preceding one, may represent either the O.N. pers. *Skógr* (Rygh), or O.N. *skógr*, 'wood,' or thirdly, O.N. *skuggi*, 'shade,' 'shadow.' The latter word is represented in North. dialects by the word *scug*, *skug*, which means 'shelter,' 'sheltered place, especially the declivity of a hill,' E.D.D. The -er of Scugger may be O.N. *vrð*, 'corner of land,' or else O.N. *erg*, 'hill pasture.'

Seat Hill. Irthington.

Seat is prob. O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm.'

SEATHWAITE. Hml. on the upper Derwent, at the head of Borrowdale.

For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L. The first may be a pers. n., or else O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm.'

SEATOLLER. Hml. 7 m. S.W. of Keswick, in Borrowdale. We may compare Seatallan.

SEATON. Vil. 1½ m. N.E. of Workington.

Setone Ch. R. 1280.

Seton Inq. 1285; Cl. R. 1363.

Perhaps a compound of O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm,' and *tūn*, 'field.'

Seavy Sike. On river Calder, N. of Ponsonby par.

Seuisyk Cl. R. 1303.

For sike see *stk* in W.L. Seavy is the dial. word, spelt in various ways, meaning 'rush,' from O.N. *sef*. Compare Sevithwaite, Sevy Grassing, Dalston.

SEBERGHAM. Vil. on river Calder, 10 m. S. of Carlisle.

Setburgheham P. R. 1223. *Sedburgham* Eyre of Wm.

Saburgham Cl. R. 1228; de Vescy 1285.

Ch. R. 1252.

Seburgham Test. K. 1354.

Seburcham P. R. 1254.

The early forms remind us of those of Sedbergh, W.R. Yorksh., which, accord. to Moorman, are: *Sedberge* (D.Bk.), *Sedbergh*, *Sadbergh*, *Sadburgh*, *Sedebergh*. Mr. C. J. Battersby's explanation of Sedbergh, favoured by Professor Moorman, is O.N. *setberg*, 'seat-formed rock'; but this explanation cannot apply to Sebergham. No known pers. n. will satisfactorily account for the first el., unless we suppose that *Sæburh* has been changed by some analogy to *Setburgh*, *Sedburgh*, etc. A possible explanation is that the name was originally Burgham (cf. Brougham, Westm.), to which was afterwards prefixed 'set' from O.N. *sætr*, 'summer pasture.' For the prefixing of 'set' see Setmurthy. But the origin of the name remains quite uncertain.

SELKER. Hml. on coast, 4 m. S. of Ravenglass.

Selekere St. Bees Ch. c. 1255.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *selja*, 'willow'; the second is O.N. *kjarr*, 'swampy thicket'; see W.L.

SELLAFIELD. Pl. 6 m. S.E. of St. Bees.

The first el. may be as in Selker.

SETMURTHY. Par. 2 m. E. of Cockermouth.

Statmyrthath F. F. 1245. *Satmyrthach* Inq. 1292.

Satmyrthawe Inq. 1292;

Cl. R. 1343.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests that this name meant 'seat (dairy farm) of Murdoch,' from O.N. *sætr*. If this be correct, the early form *Statmyrthath* is a scribal error, and the

form *Satmyrthawe* shows confusion with the common terminal -howe, from O.N. *haugr*. Nicolson and Burn, i, 428, mention Murdac, dean of Appleby in 1183.

SHATTON. Hml. 2 m. S.E. of Cockermouth.

Shaton Inq. 1300; Cl. R. 1323.

Perhaps means the 'enclosure or paddock in the wood,' from O.E. *sceaga*, 'wood,' and *tūn*; *q.v.* in W.L.

SHAWHEAD. Hml. 3 m. W. of Bewcastle.

From O.E. *sceaga*, 'wood,' and O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'highest point'; see Sceughhead.

SHIELD. Hml. 1 m. W. of Burgh-by-Sands.

de Shelde Test. K. 1357.

This name represents O.N. *skjól*, 'hut,' 'shieling.'

Shiel Green. Longtown.

O.N. *skjól*, 'shelter,' 'hut.'

SHOPFORD. In Askerton tnshp., nr. Lanercost.

The first el. may be an Anglicised form of the Scand. pers. n. *Skopti*; but this is very doubtful. It is more likely to have been the shop for the scattered district; cf. the *kaupstaðir* in Iceland.

SHOULTHWAITE. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Keswick.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Scula*, *Scule* (Searle), O.N. *Skúli* (Rygh); for the second see *pveit* in W.L.

Shundraw. Keswick.

Shonderhowe, German
mining accounts 1571.

Schonderhawe ib. 1574.

SILECROFT. Vil. 10 m. S.E. of Ravenglass, nr. Whicham.

Selecroft F. F. 1302; L. S. 1332.

The first el. seems to be the pers. n. *Seli* (Rygh); the second is O.E. *croft*, 'enclosed field.'

SILLOTH. Seaport on Solway Forth.

Silleth Valor Holme C. 1537.

The second el. of this n. seems to be the word 'lathe' or 'laithe,' from O.N. *hlaða*, 'granary,' 'barn.' The origin of

the first el. is not clear; it may be O.E. *sæ*, 'sea.' For an analysis of the granges of Holme Cultram Abbey see C.W.N.S., xiv, 275.

SKALDESKIEW. House 6 m. N.E. of Beckermest St. Bridget.

Skeldreskeogh Calder Deeds (Parker, Gosforth, p. 108) 14th cent. *Skeldreskugh* ib. 16th. cent.

The first el. looks like the O.N. female pers. n. *Skjaldvgr*, which occurs in Domesday Bk. as *Sceldeware* (Björkman, Rygh). The second is O.N. *skógr*, 'wood,' 'thicket'; see W.L.

Skelton. Vil. 6½ m. N.W. of Penrith.

Schelton P. R. 1187, 1222; *Skelton* P. R. 1226; Inq. 1243. *Skelton* P. R. 1262; Cl. R. 1300.

This, with its other form, Shelton, is a fairly common pl. n. In the case of Shelton, Staffs., early forms are *Scelfitone*, *Selfton*, *Schelton* (Duignan). This points to O.E. *scylf*, *scelf*, as the origin of the first el. This O.E. word seems to mean 'crag' or 'precipice.' Middendorff cites several instances occurring in O.E. place-names. But in some instances the first el. of Skelton may be the pers. n. *Skjoldr*. The second el. is O.E. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

SKINBURNES. Vil. 2½ m. N. of Silloth.

Skymburnes Cl. R. 1318. *Skinburness* Cl. R. 1319. *Shymbernesse* Cl. R. 1324.

The first part of this name may be a pers. n., such as **Scinebeorht* or **Scineburh*, but as yet I have met with no instance of these names. Or perhaps the first part was originally *Scynes beorh*. Searle cites the form *Scynes weorð*. The whole name would thus mean 'the headland or ness on which stands the grave-mound of Scyn.' See *beorh* and *nes* in W.L.

SKIRWITH. Par. 8 m. E. of Penrith.

Skirewit F. F. 1205. *Skerwyth* Ch. R. 1272.
Skirwiht Inq. 1254. *Skirwyth* Cl. R. 1304.
Syrewith Test. K. 1375.

The first el. may be O.N. *skirr*, O.E. *scīr*, 'bright,' 'shining.' It is, however, possible that it may represent the pers. n. *Scira* (Searle) or *Scīr*-, the first el. of several pers. ns., e.g., *Scirweald* (Searle). Skir- or Skire- is the first el. of several pl. ns., as Skirgill House, nr. Penrith, and Skireholm, Yorksh. The terminal -with is O.N. *viðr*, 'wood,' 'thicket.' We may compare Sherwood (Forest), Notts., the first el. of which Dr. Mutschmann explains as 'boundary,' 'division'; see also his remarks about Shireoaks, Notts.

Skitby. Kirkclinton.

Westcudbrytteby 1272; *de Westcutbertby* Bp. Halton's Reg. ii, 88, 1313-14.

The eponym Wescubricht witnessed a Wetheral charter in 1120-22; and this name is parallel to Gospatric (see *Aspatria*) being for Gwas-Cuthbert, i.e., 'servant or votary of St. Cuthbert.' The modern form, Skitby, is a remarkable example of contraction.

Skydes. Tynehead.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of a pers. n., such as *Skīði* (Rygh).

(Sunny) Slack. Broughton Moor.

See *slakki* in W.L. 'Sunny' is prob. a pers. n., *Suno*-, *Sun*-, or *Sungifu* (Searle); cf. Sunbiggin, Westm.; also Sunnygill, Cumb.

Slack. Ainstable.

See preceding name; cf. Slakes, Westm.

Slaggyburn. Tynehead.

The dial. word 'slaggy' or 'slaggie,' means 'a quagmire or slough,' E.D.D.; from O.N. *slag*, *slagi*, 'wet,' 'dampness.'

SLEALANDS. Hml. nr. Longtown.

The first el. seems to be identical with that of the following name.

Sleathwaite. Irton, on a hill-top.

This name occurs in W.R. Yorksh. as *Slaithwaite*, which Moorman is inclined to derive from O.N. *slakki*, 'slope on the

side of a mountain.' He also suggests O.N. *slag*, 'wet,' 'moisture,' which would give as the meaning of Slaithwaite 'a clearing of land among the swamps.' His third suggestion, O.N. *slag*, 'slaughter,' is adopted by Goodall. Moorman cites the early forms *Slaghewhaite*, *Slaxthwayt*, *Slaghwaitte*. It is more probable, however, that the first el. is a pers. n. Nielsen cites the Old Danish pers. n. *Slag*, which would account satisfactorily for the early forms of Slaithwaite, and especially for the form *Slaxthwayt*, which would represent *Slages*, gen. case of *Slag*. Compare also Sleagill, Westm.

Sleetbecks. Bewcastle.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *slétta*, 'flat land,' commonly used in Iceland.

SLEIGHTHOLME. Hml. 1 m. S.W. of Newton Arlosh.

The Mid. Engl. *slight*, *sleight* has no corresponding form in O.E. Skeat derives it (s.v. slight) from Mid. Dutch *slicht*, 'even,' 'plain.' It is allied to O.N. *slétr*, 'flat,' 'smooth.' Accord. to Rygh, O.N. *slétta* means 'a flat expanse of land.' E.D.D. cites a dialect word *slait*, *sleight*, as meaning 'a level pasture; a down; a sheep walk.' Sleightholme occurs also in N.R. Yorksh. For the second el. see *hólmr* in W.L.

SMAITHWAITE. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Lamplugh.

Smetwayt Lanc. Assize R. *Smathwayt* Cl. R. 1345.

1245.

The first el. is apparently O.N. *smár*, 'narrow,' perhaps used as a pers. n.; the second is O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock,' 'piece of land.'

Snab. Newlands.

E.D.D. gives 'snab' as a Scottish and Northumbrian word meaning 'the projecting part of a hill or rock; a rough point; a steep place; the brow of a steep ascent.'

SNITTLEGARTH. Tnsh. in the par. of Torpenhow.

The second el. is O.N. *garðr*, 'farm'; the first is perh. identical with Snydale, W.R. Yorksh., an early form of which is *Snitehale* (Moorman).

SOLPORT. Par. 7 m. N.W. of Brampton.

<i>Solpert</i> Inq. 1237; Cl. R.	<i>Solperd</i> Inq. 1297; Cl. R.
1302.	1346.
<i>Solporte</i> Inq. 1281.	<i>Soelberth</i> Cl. R. 1307.
<i>Solphard</i> L. S. 1332.	

The first el. may be a pers. n., such as *Sæwulf*, which occurs as *Saulf*, *Saolf* (Searle); the spelling *Soel-* seems to support this. Another alternative is one of the Scand. pers. ns. *Sóli* (Rygh) or *Solli* (Lind). The second el. may be O.N. *barð*, which, accord. to Rygh, N. Gaardn. p. 43, means 'edge or corner of a field.'

SOLWAY FIRTH.

Sulewad P. R. 1228; Pat. R. 1218.

[See p. 130.]

SOSGILL. Hml. 5 m S.S.W. of Cockermouth.

Sorachegil R. St. B. 12 c.

For the second el. see *gil* in W.L.

SOULBY. Hml. 6 m. S.W. of Penrith.

<i>de Suleby</i> P. R. 1226.	<i>Souleby</i> Inq. 1293; Cl. R.
<i>de Suleghby</i> P. R. 1238.	1348.
<i>Swilbye</i> Inq. 1244.	

The form *Suleghby* seems to be the earliest. It corresponds to *sulh*, which occurs in O.E. charters in descriptions of boundaries, and in the compound *sulhford*; the form *sulig* also occurs (Middendorff, pp. 129-130). Middendorff thinks the words means 'furrow,' 'channel,' which is confirmed by the meaning of the modern dialect-form *sough*, to which E.D.D. gives the meanings 'a small channel or gutter for draining water; a ditch; a drain, sewer; the mouth of a ditch.' For -by see *býr* in W.L. See also Soulby, Westm.

Sourmire. Gosforth.

The first el. is O.N. *saurr*, 'mud,' 'dirt,' 'poor soil.' The second is O.N. *mýrr*, 'bog,' 'swamp.'

SOUTHWAITE. Hml. nr. Wreay.

Touthwayt Lett. Pat. Hen. *Thoughthwaite* For. Proc.
IV. 1380 and 1413 (Parker,
Thoghthwaite P. R. 1350. C.W.N.S. xii, 8).

South- is a corruption of the original prefix, which may have been a pers. n.

For the second see *pveit* in W.L.

(CASTLE) SOWERBY. Par. 11 m. N.W. of Penrith.

Saureby W. Reg. c. 1150. *Scureby* Pat. R. 1242.
Sourebi P. R. 1186. *Shoureby* Ch. R. 1242.
Saurebi P. R. 1191. *Souresby* Pat. R. 1257.
Soreby Pat. R. 1238. *Soureby* Ch. R. 1290;
Scoureby Ch. R. 1242. Cl. R. 1293, 1329.

This name occurs also in Lancs. and in N.R. and W.R. Yorksh.; cf. also Temple Sowerby, Westm. Moorman and Goodall derive the first el. from O.N. *saurr*, 'dirt,' applied to sour, swampy soil. Wyld leaves the name unexplained. The forms with *sc-*, *sh-*, together with the form *Souresby*, cannot be explained by O.N. *saurr*. *Soures-* must be the poss. case of a pers. n., and is prob. identical with the first el. of *Schoureschale*, an early form of Shoregill, Westm. It is quite likely that the first el. was confused with O.N. *saurr*, which occurs in some pl. ns., e.g., in Sourmire, Cumb., and Sowermire, Westm.

Spade Adam. Kingwater.

Spathe Adam, 'a water-mill and herbage,' Inq. 1294.
Spaladam Inq. 1485.

SPARKET. Hml. 3 m. N. of Watermillock.

Sperkeheved Inq. 1244. *Sparkehefd* Inq. 1300.
Sparkheved Cl. R. 1348.

Spark- forms the first el. of several pl. ns., e.g., Sparkford, Som.; and Sparkbridge, Lancs. In Sparket it prob. represents the pers. n. *Spearhafoc*, a form of which, *Sperauoc*, is cited by Searle. This would become 'Spark,' just as O.E. *pearroc* has become 'park.' *Spearhafoc*, O.N. *Sparrhaukr*, is properly a nickname, meaning 'sparrowhawk.' The terminal

of Sparket is O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'upper part,' frequently occurring in pl. ns. with the meaning 'highest part of a field, valley, wood, etc.'

STAFFIELD. Vil. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.W. of Kirkoswald.

<i>Stafhole</i> W. Reg. c. 1225.	<i>Staffol</i> Inq. 1260, 1262.
<i>Staffeld</i> Inq. 1243.	<i>Staffold</i> Cl. R. 1274.
<i>Stafole</i> F. F. 1245.	<i>Staffel</i> Cl. R. 1307.
<i>Stafele</i> F. F. 1249.	<i>Staffull</i> Inq. 1457.

The second el. of this name seems to be O.N. *hóll*, 'isolated hill,' which has apparently been confused with 'hill' and 'field' at different periods. It is possible, however, that the original may have been O.N. *fjall*, 'mountain.' There is in the neighbourhood a succession of fells running up to the top of Cross Fell. The first el. may be O.N. *stafr*, 'post,' 'pole,' which accord. to Rygh, N.G., p. 78, occurs especially in names of hills and headlands. We may compare Stockhill, W.R. Yorksh., and Stockfield, I. of M.

STAINBURN. Par. 1 m. E. of Workington.

<i>Steinborn</i> F. F. 1230.	<i>Steinburna</i> Ch. R. 1189.
<i>Steinburn</i> R.St.B., early 12 c.	<i>Staynburn</i> Plac. Warr., temp. Edw. I.

Perhaps from O.N. *steinn*, 'stone,' and O.N. *brunnr*, 'stream'; cf. Stonebeck in W.R. Yorksh. At the same time, it is worth noting that Searle cites a pers. n. *Stenbeorn*, which he considers to have been originally *Stegenbeorn*. This name would account satisfactorily for Stainburn. Another possibility is that -burn represents *borran*, for which see Borrans, Westm.

STANTON. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Penrith.

<i>Stainton</i> P. R. 1166; Inq. 1244.	<i>Staynton</i> Inq. 1291; Cl. R. 1307, 1318, 1343.
<i>Steynton</i> P. R. 1238.	<i>Stanton</i> Cl. R. 1294.

The first el. may be O.N. *steinn*, 'stone,' 'rock,' but is, I think, more likely to be the pers. n. *Steinn*. The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'farm.'

STAIR. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Keswick.

Stare Crosthwaite Reg. 1597.

Stair consists of an old woollen mill, now a 'guest-house,' and a few cottages adjoining, on Newlands beck at the lower end of the valley. Several pl. ns. have Stair as their first el., e.g., Stairfoot, W.R. Yorksh. Stair is also the name of a village in Ayrshire.

Stanah. Legburthwaite.

Perhaps from the O.N. pers. n. *Steinn*, and O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound.' But the first el. may be O.E. *stān*, 'stone.'

Stanger. Place in Embleton par., 3 m. E. of Cockermouth.

Stangre F.F. 1297.

Stanger Inq. 1300; Cl. R. 1323.

Stangrah, a farmstead nr. Whitbeck, may be an earlier form of Stanger, representing a still earlier **Stangwra* or **Stangra*. The first el. would thus be O.N. *steng*, 'stake,' 'pole,' and the second either O.N. *vrá*, 'corner,' 'tongue of land,' or else O.N. *rá*, 'boundary.' It is possible, however, that Stanger is the O.N. pers. n. **Steinkarr* or **Steingeirr*; see Björkman, N. Pers., p. 129.

Stangrah. Whitbeck.

See preceding name and cf. Stangerthwaite, Westm.

STANKEND. Hml. nr. Abbey Town.

le Stanke Part L., circa 1580.

Apparently the Norman word *estanc*, 'pond.'

STANWIX. Par. on N. side of Carlisle, of which it is a suburb.

Stanwega P.R. 1187.

Steinwegges Cl. R. 1227.

Steinweges P.R. 1195.

Steynwegge Cl. R. 1298.

Stainwegges P.R. 1197.

The original of this name was perhaps O.N. *steinveggr*, 'stone wall.' Stanwix was a Roman station, bounded on the north by Hadrian's wall. The forms in *-es* seem to be in the plural, as is often the case with pl. ns., e.g., Scales, High Laws, Laythes, etc. Since writing the above I find that Lindkvist

also derives Stanwix from *steinveggr*; he has an interesting note on the subject on p. 88. We may compare Stanwick, N.R. Yorksh., the early forms of which, as cited by Lindkvist, are identical with those of Stanwix, but L. thinks the original form here was O.N. *stein-vegr*, 'paved road.'

STAPLETON. Par 9 m. N.E. of Longtown.

Stapelthein P.R. 1188.

Stapelton Inq. 1240.

Stapelton P.R. 1190;

Cl. R. 1304, 1346.

The first el. is O.E. *stapol*, 'hewn stone or pillar,' 'boundary mark.' The 1188 P.R. form, together with *Stapelstancroft*, a Cumb. pl. n. occurring in Inq. 1294, seem to point to O.N. *steinn*, 'stone,' as the second el. This was apparently confused with the common terminal *-ton*. For the meanings of *stapol* see Middendorff, *Altengl Fl.*, pp. 123, 124. See also Mutschmann's remarks s.v. Stapleford, Notts.

Steel Bank. Frizington.

Steel Green. Millom.

Steel is given by E.D.D. as a Scottish and Northumbrian word meaning 'a ridge; a point or tongue of land; a precipice; a rock.' It occurs in a number of Nthd. pl. ns., e.g., Steel, in Hexamshire; there is a farm in Westmorland named Steel Croft. E.D.D. quotes from *Promptulum Parvorum* 'steyle or steyre, *gradus*.' At the same time we may note that 'steel' [stīl] is a N. Country pronunciation of 'stile.'

Stellshaw. Bewcastle.

The first el. may be the same as Steel in the two preceding names. Shaw is O.E. *sceaga*, 'wood.'

Stockdalewath Bound. Part of Raughton Head par.

Stokdale Test K. 1362.

There is a valley named Stockdale in Westm. The first el. is O.N. *stokkr*, or O.E. *stocc*, 'post,' 'tree-stump.' The exact meaning of *stokkr* in Norse pl. ns. is not always clear accord. to Rygh, N.G., p. 79, but it may here have the meaning of O.N. *stong*, 'stake,' pole used as a landmark. 'Dale' is O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr*, 'valley'; 'wath' is O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford,' 'shoal.' Compare Greystoke, Linstock.

STODDAH. Hml. 2½ m. W. of Dacre.

Stodehou Cl. R. 1294.

The first el. is perhaps O.N. *stoð* or O.E. *studu*, 'pole,' 'post.' The second is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.' The name would thus mean 'tumulus or cairn marked by a pole.' Compare the suggested explanation of *Staffield* above; also note the form *Stodwra* F.F. 1206, with which compare *Stangrah* and *Stockdalewath Bound*.

Stonepot. Broughton-on-Moor.

See *pott* in W.L.

Stoneywath. Cotehill.

Means 'stony ford or shallow.' See *vaðr* in W.L. We may compare the common pl. n. *Stanford* or *Stamford*.

Stotgill. Caldbeck.

Perhaps from O.E. *studu*, O.N. *stoð*, 'pole,' 'post.' For gill see *gil* in W.L. Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests 'stot' = ox.

Stub. Bewcastle.

Stubhill Inq. 1299; F.F. 1348.

Nielsen cites the O. Dan. pers. n. *Stubbi*, which occurs in the Dan. pl. n. *Stubbethorp*.

Stubbing. Castle Sowerby.

See preceding name.

Stub, *Stubbing* occur also in W.R. Yorksh. Goodall derives them from O.E. *stybb* or O.N. *stubbi*, 'stub or stump.' The second el. is doubtless O.N. *eng*, 'meadow.'

STUDHOLME. Hml. 3½ m. W. of Kirkbampton.

The first el. is probably O.E. *studu* or O.N. *stoð*, 'pole,' 'post'; compare *Stoddah*. For the second el. see *hólmr* in W.L. The meaning is thus 'portion of river flat marked by a pole.'

(Chapel) **SUCKEN.** Hml. 6 m. S.E. of Bootle.

For a suggested derivation of this name see *Kirksanton*.

If it be correct, we must assume that Sunken Church is due to a popular misunderstanding of the saint's name Sanctan, from which the name Kirksanton is derived. 'Sucken' is a North Country form of 'sunken,' past part. of 'sink,' just as 'drucken' [drukn] is to-day the Cumb. form of 'drunken'; see Wright, Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, § 274 and Brilioth, Grammar of the Dial. of Lorton § 430. These forms are due to Scand. influence.

SUNDERLAND. Vil. 5 m. N.E. of Cockermouth.

In an O.E. charter cited by Bos.-Tol., there occurs the phrase *on sunderland*. Kemble renders this 'land set apart for special circumstances,' but its exact meaning is not clear. *Sundorland* also occurs in a gloss, where it is translated by the Latin word *predia*. We may compare the word *sundor-gerefland*, which occurs in a vocabulary. Sunder. could also come from O.E. *sunor*, M.E. *sounder*, 'herd of swine,' but this is unlikely.

SUNNYGILL. Ousby.

Sunnivegile W. Reg. c. 1239.

Robert, son of Sunnif, is named in the W. Reg. c. 1175.

Swainsteads. Walton.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Sveinn*; for -steads see *staðr* in W.L.

Swalthwaite. Ivegill.

The first el. may be O.N. *svað*, *svaða*, which, accord. to Rygh, means 'bare, rocky ground.' For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L.

Swallow Hurst. Bootle.

de Swalwirst R. St. B. *de Swaleweherst* P. R.
early 13 c. 1255.

Swallow is prob. O.E. *swealwe*, *swalwe*, 'swallow' (bird), used as a nickname. Hurst is doubtless O.E. *hyrst*, 'copse.'

Swang. Gosforth.

This may be O.N. *svangr*, 'slender,' used as a pers. n.

Swarthgill. Kirkoswald.

The first el. is possibly the Scand. pers. n. *Svartr* (Rygh); see *gil* in W.L.

SWINSIDE. (1) Hml. and hill $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Keswick; (2) hml. $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.E. of Keswick; (3) hml. on the upper part of the Caldew river. There is also Swinside Fell, 5 m. N. of Millom.

Swynesat F.F. 1246.

The first el. *Swin-* or *Swine-* occurs in a number of pl. ns. I am inclined to see in it a proper name in most cases rather than 'swine.' Judging by the early forms of pl. ns. it may represent the O.N. pers. n. *Sveinn*, the Anglicised form of which was *Swegen*, *Swan* (Björkman), or else the O.E. pers. n. *Swiðhun*, the modern *Swithun*. The Lancs. pl. n. *Swainshead* may be identical with one or more of the Cumb. *Swin-*sides. Its early forms, as given by Wyld, are *Suensat* D.Bk., *Swyneshede* 1561. When the early forms consistently show *Swin-* as their first el. I should be inclined to derive this from the pers. n. *Swiðhun*. It is probable that both *Swegen* and *Swiðhun* became confused by 'popular etymology' with O.E. *swin*, O.N. *svín*, 'swine.' The terminal -side represents either O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm' or O.E. *hēafod*, M.E. *heved*, 'head,' 'highest point.'

Swinsty. Suburb of Abbey Town.

The first el. may be the common pers. n. *Swiðhun*, the modern *Swithun*; the second is perhaps an abbreviation of the O.N. word *staðr*, 'farmstead.' We may compare *Swin-*side, Cumb., and *Swinstead*, Lincs. For the dropping of *th* in *Swin-* cf. *Wampool* from *Wathenpol*. *Swynstye* is an early 14th cent. form of *Swinsey*, W.R. Yorksh. (Goodall).

TALKIN. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Brampton.

Talcen W. Reg. c. 1200.

Talkan W. Reg. c. 1215;

Ch. R. 1290.

Talkaneterne Inq. 1294.

Talken Inq. 1485.

Tauken-logh Inq. 1485.

I can offer no suggestion as to the derivation of this name. We may compare Welsh *talcen*, 'brow of a hill.'

TALLANTIRE. Vil. 4 m. W. of Cockermouth.

Talghentir F.F. 1208.

Talentyre Inq. 1293; Test.

Talentir P. R. 1211.

K. 1371.

de Tarantir P. R. 1213.

Talenter Inq. 1302.

Talenty Cl. R. 1307.

Of this name also I can make nothing.

TARRABY. Hml. 1½ m. N.E. of Carlisle; just beyond Stanwix, by the Roman wall.

Terrebi P. R. 1176.

Terriby Cl. R. 1324.

Terryby F.F. 1344.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n., perhaps *þeodhere*, of which a form *Teherus* occurs in D.Bk., or some other pers. n. with the prefix *þeod-*, such as *þeodred*, or *þeodric*. For *-by* see *bȝr* in W.L.

Temon. Upper Denton.

This is prob. the O.E. pers. n. *þeodmund* (Searle).

Tercrosset. Kingwater.

Thorcreshot F.F. 1280.

Torcrossoke Inq. 1485.

Torcrossok Inq. 1294;

Cl. R. 1346.

If this name contains two elements, the first may be the poss. case of the O.N. pers. n. *þorgeirr*. If three, the first may be the pers. n. *þór*; the second would then be O.N. *kross*, 'cross,' 'monument.' The terminal is O.E. *āc*, 'oak.' The whole name would thus mean either 'Thorgeirr's oak' or 'the oak by Thor's cross.' Most probably there has been popular confusion with 'cross,' the original form being 'Thorgeirs.' Compare Thrushcross, W.R. Yorksh., an early form of which is *Thorescrosse* (Moorman).

Thackmire. Castle Sowerby.

For Thack- see next name. The second el. is O.N. *mȝrr*, 'swampy ground.'

THACKTHWAITE. (1) Hml. 6 m. S.S.E. of Cockermouth,
(2) hml. 2½ m. N. of Watermillock.

Thactwyt Inq. 1252.

Thackthuuyt Inq. 1285.

Thakthweyt Cl. R. 1307.

The first el., accord. to Lindkvist, is from O.N. *þak*, 'roof,'

'thatching material.' The name would thus mean 'portion of land supplying thatch (coarse grass, rushes, or even bark).' I feel sure this is an erroneous explanation; and that the first el. is a pers. n. Nielsen cites the name *Thacko* on p. 18 s.v. Dreng. Compare Thackley, W.R. Yorksh.; Thakeham, Suss., and Thatcham, Berks. For -thwaite see *pveit* in W.L.

Thisleton. Gosforth.

The first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *þiðstolfr*.

Thornborrow. Hesketh.

The second el. may be O.E. *burh*, 'fortified place.' The first may be the O.N. pers. n. *þorny*, or *þórunn*.

THORNBY. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Aikton.

Thornesby Distributio Cumberlandiæ in Prescott,
W.Reg. p. 386. *Thornby* Inq. 1485.

The first el. may be either of the (female) pers. ns. *þórunn* or *þorny* (Rygh G. Pers.), or, preferably, the man's name *Thurwine*, which occurs in an O.E. charter (Searle). -by is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' Thorn- occurs as the first el. in a very large number of pl. ns., and may in many cases represent the O.E. *þorn*, 'thorn,' 'thorn-bush,'; e.g., in Thornhill. But in names ending in -ton, -by, -ham and -thwaite I am inclined to derive Thorn- from a pers. n. See Thrimby, Westm.

THORNTHWAITE. (1) Vil. 4 m. W.N.W. of Keswick,
(2) hml. nr. Boltons.

Thornthwayt Inq. 1244.

For first el. see preceding name; the second is O.N. *pveit*, 'paddock.'

THORNYTHWAITE. Hml. in Matterdale par.

Thornythwayt, alias *Thornysweit* Inq. 1300.

The first el. may be, judging by the second of these early forms, which seems to have a masc. poss. case ending, the pers. n. *Thurwine*; see Thornby. At the same time the possibility of one of the O.N. female ns. *þórunn* or *þorny* being the original form is not excluded. See preceding name.

TROUTBECK. Hml. in par. of Greystoke.

bek Troyte Gospatric's Ch. *Trutbek* Test. K. 1357.
11th cent.

See also Troutbeck, Westm. *Trute* occurs as a pers. n. in Pipe Roll for Cumb. anno 1158.

Turnberry House. Cumrew.

This name is prob. the pers. n. *þurwine* and O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'barrow.'

Turnings. Tynehead.

For the first el. Turn- see preceding name; for the second see Ings. Westm.

Tutahill. Moorsby.

This is perhaps the same name as Toothill, *q.v.*

Udford. Edenhall.

The first el. may be a pers. n. *Uda*, *Udd* (Searle).

Ukat Row. Watermillock.

Ulcotera Inq. 1486.

The first el. of Ukat is prob. the pers. n. *Ulfr*, the O.N. equivalent of O.E. *Wulf*; the second is O.E. *cott* or O.N. *kot*, 'hut.' The word Row is either O.N. *vrá*, 'tongue-shaped piece of land,' or O.N. *rá*, 'boundary mark.'

ULDALE. Par. 1½ m. S.E. of Ireby.

Ulnedal R. and S. 1261; *Oulfdale* Cl. R. 1329.
Inq. 1385. *Ulnedale* Cl. R. 1343, 1369.

For the first el. see preceding name. For the second see *del. dalr* in W.L. The form *Ulnedale* is due to a common scribe's confusion between *n* and *u*.

ULFSBY. See Ousby.

Ullermire. Fishersgill.

From the *Wulfhere*, o Searle cites a form
Ulfir. For *myrr* in W

Ullgill.

The pers.

O.N. *gill*, 'l

THWAITES. In Millom Rural.

See *pveit* in W.L.

Toddles. Bewcastle, printed Todholes on Survey Map.

Todholegile Forest Pleas 1285.

Perhaps the gen. case of the pers. n. *þeodwulf*.

Toot Hill. Whillimoor.

There is a Toot Hill in Essex.

TORPENHOW. Par. 6 m. N.E. of Cockermouth.

Thorpennou T.N. c. 1212. *Thorpenho* F.F. 1246.

Torpenno P.R. 1223. *Torpeinou* Inq. 1248.

Torpeneu P.R. 1228. *Torpennou* Ch.R. 1277;

Thorpenneu P.R. 1231. Inq. 1289.

Torpenhow Test. K. 1357.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *þorfinn*, a form of which was *Torfin* (Björkman). The second is O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'grave-mound.' Compare Thorpinlees, Lancs., Torphin, Edinburgh; Torphins, Aberdeenshire. Björkman doubts whether Thorpinlees is derived from the pers. n. *þorfinn*, *Zur Engl. Namenkunde*, p. 86. We may note that a Thorfin is mentioned in Gospatric's charter, c. 1070.

Tortle. Kingwater.

This name perhaps represents a pers. n. such as *Torhtgyth* or *Torhtthæth* (Searle).

Tortolacote. Haile.

This name I take to mean 'the cottage of Torhtweald's or Torhtwulf's grave-mound.' Tortola- is for *Torhtwulfes* (or *Torhtwealdes*) *haugr*.

Tottergill. Castle Carrock.

Totter- perhaps stands for a pers. n. *Torhtere* or *Torhtred* (Searle).

Trierman. Gilsland.

Treuermain W. Reg. c. 1200.

Treverman Lan. Chart. 1169; W. Reg. c. 1200; Cl. R. 1295.

Treuerenane L.S. 1332.

Trevermane Cl. R. 1346.

Treithremane Inq. 1485.

K

TROUTBECK. Hml. in par. of Greystoke.

bek Troyte Gospatric's Ch. *Trutbek* Test. K. 1357.
11th cent.

See also Troutbeck, Westm. *Trute* occurs as a pers. n. in Pipe Roll for Cumb. anno 1158.

Turnberry House. Cumrew.

This name is prob. the pers. n. *purwine* and O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'barrow.'

Turnings. Tynehead.

For the first el. Turn- see preceding name; for the second see Ings, Westm.

Tutehill. Moysesby.

This is perhaps the same name as Toothill, *q.v.*

Udford. Edenhall.

The first el. may be a pers. n. *Uda*, *Udd* (Searle).

Ulcet Row. Watermillock.

Ulcotwra Inq. 1486.

The first el. of Ulcat is prob. the pers. n. *Ulf*, the O.N. equivalent of O.E. *Wulf*; the second is O.E. *cott* or O.N. *kot*, 'hut.' The word Row is either O.N. *vrð*, 'tongue-shaped piece of land,' or O.N. *rá*, 'boundary mark.'

ULDALE. Par. 1½ m. S.E. of Ireby.

Uluedal R. and S. 1261; *Oulfdale* Cl. R. 1329.

Inq. 1285. *Ulnedale* Cl. R. 1343, 1369.

For the first el. see preceding name. For the second see *dæl*, *dāl* in W.L. The form *Ulnedale* is due to a common scribe's confusion between *n* and *u*.

ULFSBY. See Ousby.

Ullermire. Hethersgill.

From the pers. n. *Wulfhere*, of which Searle cites a form *Ulf*. For -mire see *mýrr* in W.L.

Ullgill. Moysesby.

The pers. n. *Ulf* and O.N. *gil*, 'ravine.'

ULLOCK. (1) Hml. nr. Dean, (2) hml. nr. Crosthwaite.

Ulvelayk F. F. 1245.

Ullayk mire Inq. 1285.

de Ulvelaik Cl. R. 1300.

The second el. may possibly be O.N. *leikr*, 'play,' 'sport,' which, accord. to Rygh, is used in Norwegian pl. ns. to indicate a place reserved for village sports; N. G., pp. 64, 65. But I prefer O.N. *eik*, 'oak.' Lindkvist's suggestion that the first el. is the name of the ancient Scandinavian god Ullr cannot be accepted in view of the form *Ulvelayk*, which Lindk. has overlooked. The first el. I take to be a pers. n. compounded with *Wulf*, such as *Wulfhelm*, *Wulfweald* or *Wulfulf* (Searle).

ULPHA. Vil. 4½ m. N. of Broughton-in-Furness.

Ulfhou Inq. 1337.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Ulf*; the second, -a, is O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound,' 'hill.'

UNTHANK. (1) Hml. 5½ m. N.W. of Penrith, (2) hml. nr. Dalston, (3) hml. nr. Gamblesby.

Hunthanc Cl. R. 1274.

Eyre of Wm. de Vescy,

Unthanc Cl. R. 1274.

1285.

Unthank Cl. R. 1327, 1346; *Unthang* Cl. R. 1348.

The first el. may perhaps be the common pers. n. *Hun*; the second might be O.N. *tangi*, 'spit of land,' 'point projecting into the sea or river (Vigfússon), a sense which it still retains in some northern dialects, accord. to E.D.D. But this does not account for the spelling with *th* in the early forms, unless this was intended by the scribes to represent the sound of *t*. Compare Thong, W.R. Yorksh., early forms of which show *th* and *t*. It will be noted that all the early forms given above are taken from the Cl. Roll. The O.N. *þang*, 'wood,' 'forest,' would satisfactorily explain the second el., but it appears to have been used only in poetry. Unthank also occurs in Northd. and W.R. Yorksh.

Upmanby. Allhallows.

Uckemanebi P. R. 1188. *Hukemannebi* P. R. 1190.
Huchemannebi P. R. 1189. *Ukemannesbi* P. R. 1191.
Ulcmannebi P. R. 1228.

This name frequently occurs in early Cumb. documents. Lindkvist derives the first el. from an assumed O.N. pers. n. **Húkmaðr*, originally a nickname, which would be Anglicised to *Hukman*. But this would not account for the 1228 form. Compare Upman How, Westm.

UPPERBY. Par. S.E. of Carlisle.

Hobrihteby P. R. 1163. *Houbricteby* P. R. 1239.
Holbrichteby P. R. 1227. *Hulbricteby* Ch. R. 1290.
Hobricteby Pat. R. 1238. *Hubrighthby* Test. K. 1362.

The first el. seems to be *Wulfbeorht*, of which *Ulbert* is a form cited by Searle. The *h* prefixed to all the early forms does not altogether militate against this, as Norman scribes added and took this letter away arbitrarily. Lindkvist suggests the M. Dutch pers. n. *Hubrecht*, but this does not account for the *l* in two of the early forms. There has perhaps been confusion between these two pers. ns.

Uzzacre. Thornthwaite; spelt Uzzicar in the Survey Map.

Husacre F. F. 1233. *Husacreterne* Cl. 1343,
 1344.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Husi* or *Hussa* (Searle); the second is prob. O.N. *akr*, O.E. *æcer*, 'field,' though it may possibly be O.N. *kjarr*, 'copse growing on swampy ground.'

WABERTHWAITE. Vil. 1½ m. S.E. of Ravenglass, at the mouth of the Esk.

Waythebuthwait Furness *Wayburgthwayt* Cl. R.
 Ch. 13th cent. 1290.
Waybyrthueyt R. St. B. *de Weyburthweyt* Cl. R.
 early 13 c. 1295.
de Waburtheyt P. R. 1259. *Waberthwait* Inq. 1341.

Lindkvist's explanation of the first el. as O.N. *veiði-búð*, 'hunting or fishing shed,' from *veiði*, *veiðr*, 'catch,' 'hunting,' 'fishing,' and *búð*, 'shed' (booth), is perhaps the correct one.

He thinks that *búð* was replaced by O.N. *búr*, 'dwelling.' The form *Wayburgthwayt*, not cited by Lindkvist, seems to point to a confusion with some pers. n. such as *Wigburh* or *Wærburh*. The second el. is O.N. *þveit*, 'paddock.'

Wadcrag. Embleton.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Wada* (Searle). Crag is a Celtic word; cf. Welsh *craig*, Gaelic *carraig*. Compare Wads How, Westm.

Waitefield. Holme St. Paul.

See Waitby, Westm., for the first el.

WALBY. Vil. 4 m. N.E. of Carlisle.

Walby Cl. R. 1354.

The first el. may be a pers. n., such as *Walh*, *Wealh* or *Walo*, which properly means a 'Welshman,' i.e., a Briton, or the O.N. pers. n. *Vali*, or else O.E. *weall*, 'wall.' The village is on the Roman Wall. The second el. is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' Compare Walton, Cumb., and Walcot, Worc.

WALLAWAY GREEN. Pl. nr. Troutbeck.

Perhaps from O.E. *weallweg*, for which Bosworth-Toller suggest the meaning 'walled road,' but which more prob. means 'road along a ridge or embankment.' The word *walu*, which occurs in some O.E. charters, is transl. 'ridge,' 'bank,' by B.-T.

Wallowbarrow. Ulpha.

This name means 'the barrow or grave-mound of Walh or Walo.' See *beorg* in W.L.

WALTON. Vil. 3 m. N. of Brampton.

Waltun W. Reg. c. 1175. *Walton* Test. K. 1352.

Waltonwode Cl. R. 1295.

Walton is a very common Engl. pl. n. Its origin may not always be the same in every instance. The first el. is either a pers. n. such as *Walh*, *Wealh*, or the O.N. *Vali*; or else O.E. *weall*, *wall*, 'wall.' As Walton is close to the Roman Wall, the latter derivation seems the correct one; cf. Walby.

WAMPOOL. Hml. 3½ m. W.N.W. of Aikton, on the river Wampool.

Pol Waðoen Gospatric's *Wathenpol* Cl. R. 1291.
Ch. 11 cent. *de Wampole* Test.K. 1362.
Wathepol P. R. 1226.

The first el. may be Celtic. The O.N. *vaðr*, 'shallow water,' 'ford,' would not account for the *n* in the early forms. The second el. is either O.E. *þōl*, 'pool,' 'sheet of water,' or O.N. *poll*, 'pool or cove with a narrow entrance' (Rygh).

WANTHWAITE. Hml. 3½ m. E. of Keswick.
de Wandethwayt Test. K. 1379.

The first el. may be *Wande-*, a short form of *Wandefrith*. *Wands*-, *Wans*-, *Wan*-, frequently occur as the first el. of pl. ns., e.g., *Wandsworth*, *Wansley*, *Wanton*. Lindkvist's suggested derivation from O.N. *vándr*, 'bad,' or else from O.E. *wann*, 'dark,' I cannot see my way to accept.

Wardwarrow. Irton.

Wardwray Parish Reg. 1705.

It is possible that the first el. may be a pers. n. such as *Weard*, an abbreviated form of names like *Weardbeorht*, *Weardwulf*, etc. Or else it may be O.N. *varða*, 'beacon.' The second el. seems a corruption of 'wray,' 'corner of land,' from O.N. *vrd*.

WARNELL. Hml. 1 m. W. of Sebergham.

Warnel Pat. R. 1231; Cl. *Warnehill* Cl. R. 1333;
R. 1330 (a wood). Inq. 1485 (a close).
Warnell P. R. 1232. *Warnhull* Cl. R. 1362.

The first el. is probably a pers. n. such as *Wærin*, or *Wærna*. The name *Warinus* occurs frequently in D. Bk. *Wærnanhyll* occurs in an O.E. charter (Searle). The second el. is O.E. *hyll*, 'hill.' But it is also possible that the whole name may represent the pers. n. *Wernwulf*. We may compare *Warnscale Bottom*, 2 m. S.E. of *Buttermere*; also *Warren*, which occurs in several Engl. pl. ns.

WARTHOLE. Hml. N.W. of Plumbland, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Aspatria.

Warthol F. F. 1258; Inq. 1291. *Wartholl* Inq. 1294.
Warthehole R. and S. 1261. *Warthull* Cl. R. 1367.

This name is locally pronounced Wardle [wɔrdl]. The first el. is probably O.N. *varða*, 'beacon,' 'pile of stones, &c'; cognate with O.E. *weard*. The second is either O.N. *hóll* or O.E. *hyll*, 'hill.' If this is the right explanation Warthole is the same as Wardle, Lancs. We may compare Warthill in Caithness-shire, in N.R. Yorksh., and in Aberdeensh. The meaning is 'beacon-hill.' Compare Ward Hall Common, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Plumbland.

WARWICK. Vil. 4 m. E. of Carlisle, on the river Eden.

Wardwyk Inq. 1216. *Warthewyk* Cl. R. 1277;
Warthwik P. R. 1257. Test. K. 1362.
Wardswyk F. F. 1263.

The form *Wardswyk* points to a pers. n. as the first el., no doubt *Weard*, an abbreviated form of pers. ns. such as *Weard-beorht*, *Weardwulf*; cf. Wardwarrow. The second el. is M.E. *wike* 'corner,' from O.N. *vík*.

WASDALE. Par. 6 m. N.E. of Ravenglass, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of S. end of Wastwater.

Wascedale F. F. 1231; Inq. 1298. *Wastedale* Cl. R. 1322.

The first el. is the same as that of Wastwater, early forms of which are *Wassewater*, Cl. R. 1294, *Waswater* Cl. R. 1322. It may be a pers. n. such as *Waso*, or *Wassa*, cited by Searle.

WATENDLATH. Hml. 3 m. S.E. of Derwentwater, on a small tarn at the head of Watendlath Beck.

Wattintundelau Charter of Alice de Rumeli, 1209-10, cited by Beck, Ann. Furn. *Wattendelane* Fountains Abbey Charter temp. R.1. (Dugdale). N.B.—The 2nd *n* of this form is clearly an error. A puzzling name. The terminal of the early forms recalls that of the early forms of Carwinley,

q.v. It has in later time become confused with the common Cumb. dialect word 'lathe,' from O.N. *hlaða*, 'barn.' The first part of the name I am unable to account for.

Waterflosch. Kirkbampton.

See Flosches.

WATERMILLOCK. Vil. 7 m. S.W. of Penrith.

Wethermelok Inq. 1244, 1300; Cl. R. 1323.

Weddermeloke Inq. 1459.

The first el. occurs also in Wetherby, W.R. Yorksh., for which Moorman suggests O.N. *veðr*, O.E. *wēðer*, 'wether sheep,' 'ram.' This word may have been used as a pers. n. Wetheral, Cumb., seems to have the same first el.; also Wedderlaw, Wedder Lairs, hills in Scotland. I cannot explain the terminal, but we may compare Mellock Hill, in N.W. Kinross.

WATH. (1) Pl. nr. Caldbeck, (2) hml. nr. Holme St. Paul.

O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford,' 'shallow water'; common in pl. ns.

WAVERTON. Par. 3 m. W. of Wigton.

Waverton P. R. 1232; Inq. 1291.

'The farm or enclosed land on the Waver'; O.E. *tūn*. Waver Holme and Waverbridge are also named after the river.

Weary Hall. Boltons.

Weary may be the same name as *Holm Werry* P.R. 1230, other forms of which are *Holeweri* P. R. 1222 and *Homwerri* P. R. 1243. Magister T. Werri was 'official' of Carlisle in 1229; see Prescott, W. Reg. p. 119 and note.

WEDDIKER, or WEDDICAR. Par. 2½ m. E. of Whitehaven.

Wedakre Inq. 1298.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Wedd* (Searle), and the second seems to be O.N. *akr*, O.E. *æcer*, 'tilled field.' The latter word, as the second el. of a compound, would lose its stress, and its root vowel would be 'weakened' to *i*; cf. the pronunciation [weskit] or [wesket] for 'waistcoat.' Compare Wedholme, Cumb.

Wedding Shaw. Haile.

Wedding prob. stands for the pers. n. *Wedwine* (Searle). Shaw is O.E. *sceaga*, 'wood.'

Wedholme. Newton Arlosh.

Wedham Bp. Nicolson 1703.

For the first el. see Weddiker. The second apparently shows confusion between -ham and -holm.

WELTON. Vil. in Sebergham par.

Welton Test. K. 1356.

The first el. may be O.E. *well*, 'spring,' and the second O.E., or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

WESCOW. Hml. 1½ m. W. of Threlkeld.

This name seems to mean 'west wood' from O.N. *vestr*, O.E. *west*, and O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.'

Westray. Cockermouth.

West is O.N. *vestr* or O.E. *west*; the second el. is either O.N. *vrá*, 'corner,' 'tongue of land,' or O.N. *rá*, 'landmark,' 'boundary.'

WETHERAL. Vil. 4 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Wetherhala W. Reg. c. *Wetherhal* Cl. R. 1229.

1100. *Wetherhale* F. F. 1238.

Wederhala P. R. 1186. *Wederale* Cl. R. 1273.

Wederhale Cl. R. 1294, 1300.

The first el. may be O.E. *weðer* or O.N. *veðr*, 'wether,' 'ram,' used as a pers. n.; cf. Watermillock. The second el. is O.E. *halh*; see Haile. The meaning would thus be 'Wether's haugh or river-side meadow.'

Wha House. Eskdale.

Compare Carlingwha, Westm. Wha is perhaps O.N. *hváll* 'knoll' (Rygh).

Whallo. Boot.

The pers. n. *Hvalr*, properly a mythological name, and O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'grave-mound.' Compare Whale, Westm., and the O. Icel. pl. n. *Hváll*, modern *Hvoll*, near Bessatunga.

Whamtown. Blackford.

'Wham' is a Scottish and N. of Engl. dial. word meaning, accord. to E.D.D., (1) 'a swamp; a morass; a marshy hollow, gen. with water'; (2) 'a dale among hills; a wide, flat glen; a small valley'; (3) 'a hollow in a hill or mountain.' It is the O.N. *hvammr*, 'grassy slope or vale.' Rygh gives the meaning 'hollow or depression in high ground.'

WHEELBARROW HALL. Hml. 2 m. E. of Carlisle.

Wheelbarrow may be the woman's name *Welburh*, or it may mean 'Whelp's barrow or grave-mound.' *Hvelpr* was an O.N. pers. n. (Lind). See *beorg* in W.L. See also next name.

WHELPO. Hml. nr. Caldbeck.

de Walp P. R. 1191.

Whelphou Cl. R. 1336.

Quesphow Inq. 1285.

Whelpho Inq. 1336.

The pers. n. *Hwelp* is cited by Searle; it was a Scand. name and was doubtless a nickname; see preceding name. The second el. is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound, hill.' We may compare Whelp Side, a mtn. on the W. side of Helvellyn; Whelpington, Northd.; Whelprigg, Westm.; and the early form *Quelpedal*, Inq. 1242. The early form *Quesphow*, cited above, is metathesis for *Quelpshow*; *qu* was written in the N. of Engl. for initial *wh* from O.E. *hw*. It may be noted that Whelp was father of Gamel, father of Waltheof, who granted lands in Kirkbythore to Holme Cultram temp. H. ii (Nicolson and Burn, p. 174).

WHEYRIGG. Hml. 4 m. W. of Broomfield.**WHICHAM.** Par. 6 m. S.W. of Broughton-in-Furness.

Witingam R. St. B. early

Wytingeham F. F. 1277.

12 c.

Wytingham Ch. R. 1290.

Witingham D. Bk.

Whityngham Cl. R. 1332.

The first el. seems to be the O.N. pers. n. *Hottingr* (Lind), O.E. *Hwiting* (Searle). See Cumwhitton. The terminal -ham is O.E. *hām*, 'farmstead.'

WHILLIMOOR. Hml. 2 m. N.W. of Arlecdon.

Welingesmora R. St. B. 12 c.

The first el. is the poss. case of a pers. n. such as *Wealhwine*, cited by Searle.

Whincop. Devoke Water.

Accord. to E.D.D. a 'cop' means 'a hill, peak, crest' in the N. of Engl., also 'an embankment or ridge.' The first el. is perhaps 'whin,' i.e., 'furze'; a word of Celtic origin; cf. Welsh *chwyn*; but see next name.

WHINFELL. Hml. 3½ m. S. of Cockermouth.

Whinnefeld F. F. 1202.

Qwinfel Inq. 1249.

de Quynesfell P. R. 1238.

Quinnefel Inq. 1250.

Quenefel F. F. 1241.

Quenefeld F. F. 1255.

Quinfel Min. A. 1265;

Wynfel Inq. 1294.

Inq. 1285.

Whynfel Cl. R. 1345.

Wynfell Cl. R. 1361.

The first el. presents difficulties. In Northern Mid. E. the combination *qu* at the beginning of a word represents either O.E. *cw* or O.E. *hw*. We have three possibilities to consider. The first el. may be either (1) Mod. E. 'whin,' a synonym for 'furze' or 'gorse,' which Skeat derives from Welsh *chwyn* = 'weeds'; (2) O.E. *cwēna* or O.N. *kvenna*, 'woman'; (3) a pers. n. In favour of suggestion no. 1 is the preponderance of forms in *-in-*, and especially the earliest form *Whinnefeld*. In favour of no. 2 are the forms in *-en-*. Here we may note the pl. n. Quinton, Worc., which Duignan derives from O.E. *cwēna*. In favour of no. 3 is the form *Quynesfell*; but I know of no early pers. n. which could account for it; but cf. modern surname Quinn, and see Whinnow. *Quineberge*, an early form of Whimburg, Norf., occurs in the Index Locorum, Brit. Mus. Rolls, etc. Whinfell occurs also in Westm. Compare also Whinlatter, a mtn. 3 m. E. of Lorton, Whin Rigg, Whincop. The second el. is O.N. *fjall*, 'mountain,' which is frequently confused with *feld*, 'field,' by Mid. E. scribes.

Whinney Fell. Farlam.

For Whin- see preceding article.

WHINNOW. Hml. nr. Thursby.

de Quinhou Inq. 1292. *Quynhowe* Cl. R. 1330.

The first el. is probably a pers. n.; see Whinfell; the second is O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound,' 'tumulus.' Cf. Whinhowe, Westm.

WHITBECK. Vil. 6½ m. S.W. of Broughton-in-Furness.

Wytebec Pat. R. 1229. *Whytebeck* F. F. 1260.

The first el. may be O.E. *hwīt*, 'white,' 'clear'; or a pers. n. such as *Hwita*, *Wita* or *Wit* (Searle). Many pl. ns. begin with Whit- or White. The second el. is O.N. *bekkr*, 'stream.'

WHITEHAVEN.

Withofd Bull. of Pope
Eugenius III to Furness

Hwithothavene F. F. 1202.
Whytheweyhame Cl. R.

1153.

Wylofthavene Ch. St.
Bees, 12 c.

1295.

Quitonthavene Cl. R. 1304.

Whitehhavene Cl. R. 1334.

Qwithofhavene Ch. St.
Bees, 12 c.

The above forms give no clear indication of the first el.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests that the first part of the name may be from O.N. *hwitr*, 'white,' and *hǫfuð*, 'head,' meaning 'the white headland' as contrasted with the red headland of St. Bees. I am inclined to agree with this. Haven is O.E. *hæfen*, or O.N. *hǫfn*, 'port,' Dan. *havn*.

WHITRIGG. (1) Hml. nr. Bowness, (2) hml. 1 m. S. of Torpenhow.

de Quiterigg Cl. R. 1295. *Whyterigg* Test. K. 1362.

The first el. may be O.E. *hwīt*, 'white,' or the pers. n. *Hwita*. The second el. is O.N. *hryggr*, 'ridge of a hill.'

Whole Pippin. Whitbeck.

Whole may be from O.N. *hóll*, 'knoll'; Pippin may be the pers. n. *Pippen* cited by Searle. But this is a mere guess.

Wickerthwaite. Stapleton.

Wygarthetwayt Inq. 1242.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Wigheard* (Searle); for the second see *pveit* in W.L. Or the name may mean 'the thwait

belonging to Wigarth,' the latter name being that of an old farm, compounded prob. of a pers. n. such as *Wiga*, and 'garth,' from O.N. *garðr*.

WIGGONBY. Vil. 1½ m. E. by S. of Aikton.

Wiganby Inq. 1299. *Wyganby* Cl. R. 1346; F. F.
1358; Inq. 1485.

The first el. may either be *Wigan*, gen. case of the pers. n. *Wiga*, *Wicga*, or else the pers. n. *Wighen* cited by Searle. The pers. n. *Wiganus* occurs in W. Reg. c. 1131. The second el. is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' We may compare Wigan, Lancs., Wiggenhall, Norf., and Wigginton, Herts.

WIGTON. Tn. 11 m. S.W. by W. of Carlisle.

Wiggeton P. R. 1163. *Wygeton* Cl. R. 1303,
Wigeton Ch. R. 1262; Inq. 1333.
1295.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Wiga*, *Wicga*, or else *Wig*-, which forms the first el. of many pers. ns. (Searle). Wigton is also a par. in W. R. Yorksh. The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.'

WILTON. Hml. 2 m. E. of Egremont.

Wilton P. R. 1211; Cl. R. 1294; Inq. 1298.

The first el. is prob. *Wil*-, the first el. of numerous pers. ns. (Searle). Wilton is a common pl. n. The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.'

WINDER. Hml. nr. Lamplugh.

Wynder Ch. of Wm. de Lancaster c. 1230.

Wyndergh Inq. 1341 (a farm).

The first el. is a pers. n.; probably the same as in *Windscales*, *q.v.* The second el. is O.N. *erg*, 'summer pasture.'

WINDERWATH. Culgaith.

Occurs also in Westm.

WINNAH. Hml. 1¼ m. S.E. of Lamplugh.

The terminal is prob. O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound,' 'knoll.' The first el. is prob. a pers. n.

WINSCALES. Twنش. 2 m. S.E. of Workington.*Windscales* Cl. R. 1294.*Wyndeshales* Cl. R. 1307.*Wyndchales* Inq. 1298.*Winzscales* Cl. R. 1322.

The first el. may be a pers. n. such as *Windig*, *Winedei*, or *Wenda* (Searle). The second is O.N. *skáli*, 'hut,' 'shed,' the English plural ending being added. Lindkvist takes the first el. to be O.N. *vindr*, 'wind,' so that the name accord. to him means the same as O.N. *loptskemma* or *lopthús*, 'small detached building containing a loft or upper room, or such building on piles.'

WINSKILL. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Kirkoswald.

This name may have the same origin as the preceding. The second el., however, may possibly represent either O.N. *skjól*, 'shelter,' or O.N. *kelda*, 'spring'; see these words in W.L.

WOLSTY. Hml. 2 m. S. of Silloth.*Wolsstibay* Cl. R. 1324.

The first el. of Wolsty seems to be the pers. n. *Wulf*; the second may be O.N. *stigr*, O.E. *stīg*, 'path,' but is more probably O.N. *staðr*, 'farmstead.'

WOODHOUSES. Hml. 5 m. S.W. by W. of Carlisle.*Wodhous* Inq. 1485.

Woodhouses occurs as a pl. n. in a number of counties. For Woodhouse, W.R. Yorksh., Moorman cites the 1258 form *Rob. de Wudehus*, and explains the name as either 'the house built of wood' or 'the house in the wood.'

WORKINGTON.*de Wirkeinton* R. St. B.*Wirginton* W. Reg. c.

c. 1190.

1240.

Wirchingetona and *Wirchinton* Gospatric's Ch.*Wyrkinton* F. F. 1278.

c. 1150.

Wyrkinton Cl. R. 1297.*Wirchington* W. Reg. c.*Wirkington* Inq. 1298.

1100.

de Wirkinton Cl. R. 1300.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n. The suffix -ing may represent

either *-wine*, a very common terminal of pers. ns., or else *-an*, the gen. singular of a pers. n. ending in *-a*, or thirdly, it may be the patronymic *-ing*. See Moorman, W.R. Pl. Ns., pp. xl-xlii. For *-ton* see *tūn* in W.L.

Wormanby. Burgh-by-Sands.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n., such as *Wærmund*.

Wrea Farm. Brampton.

See next name.

WREAY. Vil. 5 m. S.E. of Carlisle.

Wra P. R. 1234; Inq. 1485. *Grenewra*, P. R. 1201.

Wreay is O.N. *vrá*, 'nook,' 'corner, or tongue of land.' Lindkvist, pp. 197, 198, has a valuable note on this word, which forms an el. of many pl. ns. in the N. of Engl.

WYTHBURN. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Keswick.

Wythebotten Inq. 1302. *Wythbottome* Crosth.
Reg. 1572-3.

The first el. may be *Wið*-, which forms part of several pers. ns. (Searle). Perhaps, however, it is O.N. *viðr*, 'tree,' 'wood.' Compare *Wythepot*, Cl. R. 1303; *Wythholm* Cl. R. 1318; *Wytheton* Cl. R. 1300. The second el. shows confusion between 'burn' or 'brun' (O.N. *brún*) and the original form, which is the dialect word *botten*, O.N. *botn*, meaning a cove or combe at the head of a dale.

WYTHOP. Par. 5 m. S.E. of Cockermouth.

Wythope Inq. 1285. *Wythop* Cl. R. 1370.
Wythopp Test. K. 1376.

The first el. may be the same as in the preceding name; *-hop* is O.N. *hópr*, 'small creek' or 'glen.' See Hopesike Woods.

YAMONDSIDE. Pl. nr. Dacre.

Yamond- represents the local pronunciation of Eamont, the river.

Yearngill. West Newton.

Yearn- is perhaps the abbreviated pers. n. *Earn-* (Searle).

YEATHOUSE. Ry. stn. E of Arlecdon.

The first el. seems to be O.E. *geat*, 'gate.'

Yeorton. Hale.

The first el. is prob. the O.E. pers. n. *Eofor*, or the O.N. *Iofurr*. For -ton see *tūn* in W.L.

YOTTON FEWS. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Beckermest St. Bridget.
de Yoton R. St. B. early 13 c.

Compare Fewsdale, a glen in Westm.

SOLWAY FIRTH.

Solway is often derived from O.N. *söl-vagr* 'muddy bay'; thus Johnston, *Place-Names of England and Wales*. But the early form *Sulewad* shows that the terminal is O.N. *vaðr* 'ford.' (For a discussion of the ford in question see G. Neilson, *Annals of the Solway*.)

WESTMORLAND.

Abba. Middleton.

This place belonged to Cockersand Abbey; see Whellan, p. 896.

ACKENTHWAITE. Hml. in Milnthorpe par.

The first el. is either *Acca*, the gen. case of the common pers. n. *Acca*, or else the pers. n. *Hakon*. For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L.

AMBLESIDE. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Grasmere.

Amelsate Cl.R. 1275; Ch. R. 1275. *Hamelsete* Inq. 1300.

The first el. is *Amal-*, which occurs as a prefix in many pers. n. such as *Amalric*, *Amalhere* (Searle). The early forms of Amblecote, Staffs., as cited by Duignan, are: D. Bk. *Elmelcote*; 13 c. *Amelecote*; 14 c. *Cote Hamele*, *Amelcote*. We may also compare Ambleston, Pembr. The second el. is O.N. *sætr*, 'summer pasture and dairy'; see in W.L.

Angerholme. Mallerstang.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Arngeirr*; the second is O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L. Compare Angerby, Lancs., and Angerton, Lancs. and Cumb.

APPLEBY.

Appelbi F. F. 1200. *Appelby* Inq. 1291; Cl. R. 1288.

Appleby Test. K. 1356.

Skeat derives the first el. of Appleford and Appleton, Berks., from O.E. *æppel*, 'apple,' 'fruit,' and cites *Æppeltun* from an O.E. charter. Moorman cites *Æppeltun* from an early charter for Appleton Roebuck, W.R. Yorksh. Wyld also favours the derivation from *æppel* for Appleton, Lancs. Place-names beginning with Apple- are the following:—

Appledore, Devon and Kent; Appledram, Suss.; Applegarth, Dumfr. and N.R. Yorksh.; Applesham, Suss.;

Appleshaw, Hants.; Applethwaite, Cumb. and Westm.; Appletree, Northants. Examining these names we find that Applesham cannot come from *æppel*; here the first el. is the gen. case of a pers. n., which we may almost certainly take to be *Eadbeald*, for which see Searle. In the names Appleton, Applethwaite, Applegarth and Appleby the first el. may possibly represent O.N. *apaldr*, 'wild apple tree,' but I prefer *Eadbeald*, which was a common name, and therefore might be expected to occur like the other pers. ns. as the first el. of names ending in just these terminals: -thwaite, -ton, -by, -garth. Apple is thus seen to be a corruption due to 'popular etymology' of *Abbel* < *Adbel* < *Eadbeald*. The assimilation of *d* to *b* is seen in Abberton, Worc., from the pers. n. *Eadbeorht* (Duignan), and in Aberford, W.R. Yorksh., from *Eadburh* (Moorman). It may be noted that the name *Eadbeald* occurs in Abberley, Worc. (Duignan). In the case of Appleford, however, the first el. may well have been *æppel*, as a large fruit tree is frequently mentioned as a landmark in early charters. The early forms *Appeltreholm*, W. Reg. c. 1235, and *Apiltrehirste*, W. Reg. c. 1270 (both in Cumb.), should have been cited above.

APPLETHWAITE. Par. nr. Windermere.

Appeltwayt Inq. 1271. *Appilthwayt* Lanc. Inq. 1283.

Apilthwayt Cl. R. 1344.

For the first el. see preceding name; for the second see *pveit* in W.L. We may compare the forms *Apiltretuait*, *Appeltrethwayt*, occurring in early Lancs. documents; see also Wyld, p. 52.

ARNSIDE. Vil. on the estuary of the river Kent, 3½ m. S.W. of Milnthorpe.

Arnolheved alias *Arnholvisheved* Inq. 1244.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Earnwulf*, *Arnulf*. Compare Arnaby, a farm in Cumb. The second el. is M.E. *heved*, from O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'highest point'; which may have been substituted for an earlier *sat* or *set*, from O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy pasture'; cf. Ambleside.

Artlegarth. Ravenstonedale.

See Arkleby, Cumb., and *garðr* in W.L.

ASBY. Vil. 5 m. S. of Appleby.

Askeby Ch. R. 1247; Cl. R. 1295; F. F. 1298; Inq. 1314.

Ascheby Inq. 1294.

See Asby, Cumb.

ASKHAM. Vil. 5 m. S. of Penrith.

Askum Pat. R. 1232.

Ascom Inq. 1302; Cl. R.

Ascum Inq. 1314; Cl. R.

1323; F. F. 1369.

1372.

Ascome Inq. 1314.

Askham, W.R. Yorksh., is derived by Moorman from O.N. *askr*, 'ash-tree.' The second el. he considers to be O.E. *hamm*, to which he gives the meaning 'enclosure.' It means rather 'riverside pasture,' as Stenton points out, Pl. Ns. of Berks., p. 12. It is noticeable that all the early forms of Askham given by Moorman end in *-am* or *-ham*, not in *-um* or *-om*. I prefer to derive the Westm. Askham from the pers. n. *Aski* and O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L. Moorman also mentions *Aski* but prefers *askr*.

BAMPTON. Vil. 4 m. N.W. of Shap.

Bampton Patrik Inq. 1314; F. F. 1357.

See Bampton, Cumb.

BARBON. Vil. 3½ m. N.E. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Berebrune D. Bk.; F. F.

Berebrum Ch. R. 1253.

1278.

Berburn P. R. 1226; Inq.

1249; F. F. 1316; Cl. R.

1349.

The second el. seems to be either O.N. *brún*, 'edge,' or O.N. *brunnr*, 'spring.' There are many brows and hills in the district, especially along Barbon Beck. The first el. may be the O.N. woman's n. *Bera* (Rygh), but this is doubtful; still more doubtful is O.E. *bere*, 'barley.' For this el. *bere* see Rygh, G. Pers., p. 33.

Barnskew. Crosby Ravensworth.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Bjgrn*, *Beorn*. The second is O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.'

BARTON. Par. 4 m. S.W. of Penrith.

Barton F.F. 1231; Inq. 1249, 1257; Cl. R. 1285.

Barton is a common pl. n. Generally it may be traced to O.E. *beretūn*, 'barley grange.' In the present instance, however, the early forms all have *Bar-* for the first el., which may point to either O.N. *barð*, 'edge of a declivity' (Rygh), or else the pers. n. *Barði* (Rygh). The name would thus mean either 'field on the edge,' or 'Barði's field.' The land here falls sharply to the Eamont from east of Barton Church to Pooley Mill.

Barugh. Orton. Occurs also in Cumb.

Baysbrown. Great Langdale.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of a pers. n.; for the second see *brún* in W.L.

BEETHWAITE GREEN. Hml. in Levens par.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n.; for the second see *þweit* in W.L.

BEETHAM. Vil. 1½ m. S. of Milnthorpe.

Bieðun D. Bk.

Bethum Inq. 1244, 1249;

Beithum W. Reg. c. 1200.

Cl. R. 1360.

Biethum Ind. Loc. c. 1210.

Bethun F. F. 1279.

We may note *Bethameslay*, *Bethemeslei*, early forms of Beamsley, W.R. Yorkshire, cited by Moorman, who considers the first el. to be the pers. n. *Beaduhelm*. Beetham is on the Beetha, an affluent of the Kent. Perhaps Beetham means 'the holm or meadow by the Beetha.'

BIGGINS. Hml. nr. Kirkby Lonsdale.

O.N. *bygging*, 'dwelling,' 'cottage.' 'Biggin' is still a dialect word in the N. of England and in Scotland.

BIRKBECK, BIRKDALE, BIRKS.

From O.N. *birki*, 'birch-wood.'

BLACKSYKE. Pl. on the Eden, nr. Bleatarn.

No doubt so named from the black water coming out of peaty soil. For the second el. see *stk* in W.L. See Hope-sike Woods, Cumb.

Blasterfield. Crosby Ravensworth.

The first el. is perhaps the same as in *Blaskersice*, Ch. R. 1294.

Bleaflat. Ravenstonedale.

The first el. is possibly O.N. *bleikr*, 'white,' 'pale,' perhaps used as a pers. n. The second is O.N. *flata*, 'flat stretch of land.'

Bleaze Hall. Old Hutton.

We may compare Bleasby, Notts., and Blease Fell, nr. Hesket, Cumb.

BOLTON. Par. 4 m. N.W. of Appleby.

de Boteltun W.Reg. 1180. *Boulton* Inq. 1293.

Bolton F. F. 1231. *Boleton* Inq. 1314.

Bowelton F. F. 1255.

See Bolton, Cumb.

BOMBY. Hml. in Bampton par.

Bondeby Cl. R. 1339.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Bonda*, *Bonde* (Björkman). The second is O.N. *býr*, 'farmstead.'

Borrans. Grayrigg.

E.D.D. gives *borran* as a word used in the Lake district meaning 'cairn,' 'heap of loose stones,' especially 'Roman or pre-historic remains.' It is the Gaelic *boireand* accord. to Collingwood, *Scand. Brit.*, p. 221. The whole parish is very rough and rocky. The word 'borran,' spelt in various ways, occurs in a number of pl. ns. in Cumb. and Westm., and it may have become confused with other words used as terminals, such as O.N. *brunnr* and *brún*, *q.v.* in W.L. We may note the following :—

- (1) Burwens, a Roman fort nr. Kirkbythore, written *Borains* in W. Reg. c. 1235.
- (2) Harberwain [Harboræn], a farm built among prehistoric earthworks above Crosby Ravensworth.
- (3) Borrans Ring, the Roman fort at Ambleside.
- (4) Borrans Hill House, near *Burnshill* Side, Sebergham.

- (5) Burnmoor, Eskdale, with prehistoric remains.
- (6) Barnscar, Muncaster, with prehistoric remains.
- (7) There is also Borrans, nr. Gressingham, Lancs., consisting of a motehill and earthworks.

Borren House. Stainmore.

The same name as the preceding.

BORROWDALE. Par. 5 m. S. of Keswick. There is a fine Roman fort at the mouth of the valley.

Borgedale F. F. 1231. *Borgherdal* Ch. R. 1247.
Borghdale Test. K. 1362.

The first el. is, accord. to Collingwood, Scand. Britain, p. 211, O.N. *borgar*, gen. sing. of *borg*, 'fortified place.' Lindkvist accepts this, and cites the O. Icel. pl. n. *Borgardal*. At the same time, it is possible that the first el. may be a pers. n., such as *Borgarr* (Lind), confused later with *borgar*. The second el. is O.N. *dalr*, *q.v.* in W.L. It may be noted that Borrow Beck is an affluent of the Lune. Compare Borrowdale, Cumb.

Borwens. Middleton.

E.D.D. cites *borwen*, 'cumulus,' from a 1570 source. It is the same word as Borrans.

Bousfield. Orton.

Bouesfell Furness Ch. 1342.

The first el. is a pers. n., perhaps the poss. case of the pers. n. *Boui*, of which several instances occur in O.E. charters (Kemble) and D. Bk. Björkman compares O. Swed. *Bove*; O. Dan. *Bovi*, O.E. *Bōfa*.

Bowber Head. Ravenstonedale.

Bowber may be from pers. n. *Bolli*, and O.E. *beorg*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.'

BOWLAND BRIDGE. Hml. 2 m. W. of Crossthwaite.

The first el. of Bowland may be either O.N. *ból*, 'farmstead,' or the pers. n. *Bolli*. Bowland occurs also in Lancs. and W.R. Yorkshire. There is also a Bowland Beck, N. of Carlisle.

BOWNESS ON WINDERMERE.

I have not met with any early forms of the ~~Windermere~~ Bowness.

See Bowness, Cumb.

Bowton Hall. Strickland Kendl.

Bolteston Inq. 1262: CL R. 1349.

Bolston F.F. 1383.

BRACKENBER. Hml. nr. Mutton.

Bracanbers Ch. of Robert, *Brakenber* W. Reg. 1256.
son of Orm, late 12 c.

For the first el. see Brackenbarrow. Brackenthwaite and Brackenhill, Cumb. The terminal seems to be O.E. *beorg*, 'grave-mound,' 'tumulus.'

Brackenslack. Crosby Ravensworth.

See preceding name for first el. For *-slack* see *slakki* in W.L.

BRADLEY FIELD. Form a par. with Underbarrow.

Brathelaf Inq. 1262.

Brathelagh CL R. 1349.

Braithlagh Inq. 1300.

Bradely F.F. 1383.

The form *Braith-* points to O.N. *breiðr*, 'broad,' but this was confused with its O.E. equivalent *brād*. The second el., judging by its early forms, is the same word as the North dialect word 'low' or 'lowe,' which accord. to E.D.D. means 'a shallow pool left in sand by the retiring tide; a hollow in marsh land; a pond or standing pool.' It is from a Scand. word which appears in O.N. as *lōgr*, 'sea.' In its 1383 and modern forms it has been confused with the common terminal *-ley*, *-lea*, *-leigh* (from O.E. *leah*, 'meadow'), of the very common pl. n. Bradley. The early form in *-laf* shows an ordinary development, like Mod. Engl. 'laugh' [lāf] from Mid. Engl. *laghe*.

BRAMPTON. Hml. nr. Long Marton.

Branton F.F. 1208.

Brampton CL R. 1283; Inq. 1293.

See Brampton, Cumb.

BREThERDALE. Hml. 4 m. S.W. of Orton.

Britherdal Ch. R. 1247. *Brethredal* Cl. R. 1345.
Bretherdale F. F. 1291. *Breredale* Inq. 1314.

The first el. looks like the O.N. *brœðra*, gen. plural of *bróðir*, 'brother'; the second is O.N. *dalr*, O.E. *dæl*, 'valley.' The name would thus mean 'the valley of the brothers.' But I do not feel at all sure of this derivation.

Bryan Houses.

There are several instances of Bryan as a pl. n. in W.R. Yorkshire, the early forms of which show *Bryn-*, *Bryne-*. The orig. word may have been O. Dan. *bryn*, 'brow of a hill,' or O.N. *brýnn*, plur. of *brún*, *q.v.* in W.L.

BRIGSTEER. Hml. in Levens township.

Brigster Inq. 1344.
Brigstere Cl. R. 1345.

This is prob. the pers. n. *Beorhtthere*. The pers. n. prefix *Beorht-* occurs in the forms *Bricht-*, *Brist-*; thus *Beorhttric* occurs as *Bricxtric* (Searle).

Brinns. Shap.

This is prob. the possessive case of the pers. n. *Beorn*. Searle cites *Brinwold* for *Beornweald*, and *Brinstan* for *Beornstan*.

BROUGH. Tn. 5 m. N.E. of Kirkby Stephen.

Burc 1173-4, Jordan Fantosme's poem; Surtees Soc., vol. 2. *Burgh* Pat. R. 1228; Inq. 1291; Cl. R. 1340.
Brough Pat. R. 1281.

This is O.E. *burg*, *burh*, 'fortified place, 'fortified building or town.' A very common pl. n., alone and in combination; cf. *Burgh-by-Sands*, Cumb.

BROUGHAM. Vil. 2 m. S.E. of Penrith.

Bruham Pat. R. 1228; Inq. 1345.
 1249; Cl. R. 1287. *Broweham* Inq. 1344.
Brouham F.F. 1308; Cl. R. *Burgham* Cl. R. 1362, 1370.

This village is on the Roman road. The station here was called *Brocauvm*. The early form *Bruham* may represent an

Anglicised form, due to 'popular etymology,' of the Celtic form, which was itself Latinised as *Brocavum*. The later form *Burgham* would then be due to a second effort of popular etymology, the first element being now referred to the common M. Engl. word *burgh*, from O.E. *burg*, *burh*, 'fortified building or town.' But the origin of the name is not at all clear.

Broxy. Kirkby Stephen.

This name prob. represents *Broces*, gen. case of the pers. n. *Broc*, and O.N. *staðr*, 'farmstead.' Searle cites *Brocces hlæw* from a charter.

Brundrigg. Strickland Ketel.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Brun*; for the second see *hryggr* in W.L. See Brownrigg, Cumb.

Buckles House. Stainmore.

Buckles is perhaps the gen. case of a pers. n. Compare Bucklesham, Suff. and Bucklebury, Berks., which, accord. to Skeat, is from the O.E. pers. n. *Burghild*. But Buckle may here be the modern surname.

BURNSIDE. Vil. 2 m. N.W. of Kendal.

Brounolvesheved Cl. R. 1349.

Burnoluesheued F. F. 1383.

The first el. is *Brunwulfes*, gen. case of the pers. n. *Brunwulf*, *Brunulf*; the second is O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'upper part,' often occurring in mod. pl. ns. as -side; cf. Ormside. Metathesis of *r* has taken place; cf. Brough, Westm.

BURRELLS. Vil. in Hoff par.

Burrell also occurs in N.R. Yorksh. and Cumb., *q.v.* Compare also Burrelton, Perthshire.

Burtergill. Warcop.

Burtergill W. Reg. 1597. *Burthergill* ib. 1607.

Buttergill ib. 1606.

Perhaps the pers. n. *Beorhthere*. This name appears to be also the origin of Brigsteer, Westm., *q.v.* The name occurs also in Cumb.

BURTON. (1) Hml. in Warcop par.; (2) Burton-in-Kendal.

Borton D. Bk.; W. Reg. *Burton* Cl. R. 1282; Inq. c. 1200. 1285; F. F. 1280.

A common pl. n. In some cases the first el. comes from O.E. *būr*, 'dwelling'; in others from O.E. *burg*, 'fortified place.' There are ancient earthworks nr. the Warcop Burton. Burton, Warw., appears as *Bourghton* in a 1327 roll (Duignan), and Burton in Lonsdale is *Borctune* in D. Bk. The early form *Borton* points to O.N. *borg*, 'fortification.'

Burrwain Hall. Morland.

See Borrans.

Busket Howe. Orton.

Howe, from O.N. *haugr*, orig. meant 'grave-mound,' then a 'gentle eminence or mound,' E.D.D. Busket is prob. dial. *busk*, 'bush,' and 'head,' meaning highest point, summit.

Butterbent. New Hutton.

For Butter- see next name, and Buttermere, Cumb. Bent orig. means 'coarse grass,' from O.E. *beonet*.

BUTTERWICK. Hml. 1 m. N.N.W. of Bampton.

Butterwyk 1285 (F.W.R.). *Buterwic, Butterwic* 1289 (F.W.R.).

Occurs also in Durham, Yorkshire, and Lincs. We may compare the early forms *Butheresdal* F.F. 1223, and *Buteresdale* F.F. 1291. See also Buttermere, Cumb. The second el. is prob. either M.E. *wike*, with the meaning of 'opening,' or else 'corner,' from O.N. *vík*, 'opening,' 'creek'; or O.E. *wíc*, 'settlement.'

Buttle. Hutton Roof.

This may be the pers. n. *Botwulf, Botolf*, O.N. *Bótolf*. Compare Bootle, Cumb.

Calva. Stainmore.

From O.N. pers. n. *Kalfr*, and O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound,' or O.E. *hōh*, 'hill.' The form *Calvedal* occurs in F.F. 1278. We may compare Calva, Skiddaw.

Candy Slack. Selside.

See *slakki* in W.L.

Capplerigg. New Hutton.

The first el. may be O.N. *kapall*, 'horse,' used as a pers. n. For rigg see *hryggr* in W.L. Compare Capplebarrow, a mtn. E. of Long Sleddale, and Cappleside, Beetham.

Carhullan. Bampton; about a mile from the Roman road.

Carholond Will cited by N. & B. 1415.

We may conjecture that this name is Celtic, the first el. being Welsh *caer*, 'fortified place.'

Carlingill. Tebay.

See Carlingwha.

Carling Steps. Strickland Ketel.

See next name.

Carlingwha. Lupton.

For -wha compare Wha House, Cumb. For Carling- cf. Carlinghow, W.R. Yorkshire, which Goodall derives from the O.N. pers. n. *Kerling*.

CASTERTON. Vil. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Casterton F. F. 1201; Inq. 1262. *Castreton* Cl. R. 1349.

Also occurs in Rutland; compare also Chesterton, which occurs in several counties. The first el. is O.E. *ceaster*, *cæster*, 'town,' especially (but not necessarily) a town on the site of a Roman permanent camp or garrison town. The second el. is *tūn*, *q.v.* in W.L.

CASTLETHWAITE. Hml. nr. Mallerstang.

So called from the ancient castle, the remains of which are still visible.

CHERRYHOLM. Island in Ullswater.

The first el. may be the common pers. n. *Ceolred*, which occurs also as *Cered*, *Cyred* (Searle). Cherry is found in several pl. ns. as Cherry Hinton, Cambs., Cherry Burton, E.R. Yorkshire. The second el. is O.N. *hólmr*, in its original sense of 'island.' But perhaps Cherry Holm is not an old name.

Clawthorpe. Burton in Kendal.

The second el. is O.N. *þorp*, 'village.'

CLIBURN. Vil. 6½ m. E.S.E. of Penrith.

Clibbrun W. Reg. c. 1150. *Cliburn* alias *Cliborne*.
Clibburn F. F. 1231. Inq. 1314.
Clifburn W. Reg. c. 1250. *de Clibrun* Cl. R. 1355.
Clyfburn F. F. 1259.

The first el. is O.N. *klif*, O.E. *clif*, and either O.N. *brún*, 'edge,' or O.N. *brunnr*, 'brook,' 'stream.' The church at Cliburn stands on a knoll which descends very sharply, immediately beyond the west wall of the churchyard. Thus the name means either 'cliff-edge' or 'stream by the cliff.' The *f* is assimilated to *b*. See, however, *clif* in W.L. Mr. W. G. Collingwood thinks that as Cliburn is on a Roman site the terminal -burn represents *borran*, 'prehistoric heap of stones'; see *Borrans*.

CLIFTON. Vil. 2½ m. S. of Penrith.

Cliffton Inq. 1314.

A common pl. n., meaning 'field by the cliff.' For first el. see preceding name. See *clif*, also *tūn* in W.L.

(ASBY) COATSFORTH. Hml. 2 m. E. of Warcop.

Richard de Cottesford and Peter de Cotesford are mentioned as holding land in the neighbourhood in the 13th cent.; see N. and B. i, 510.

This name may mean 'the ford by the cottages,' from O.E. *cott* and *ford*. But the first el. may be the pers. n. *Cotta*. Compare *Coate*, Cumb.

Cocklake. Mallerstang; cf. Cocklakes, Cumb.

This name may be the same as Cockleach, Lancs. Wyld discusses the meaning of the common pl. n. prefix *Cock*, which he thinks is due in some cases to a pers. n. *Cocca*, in others to O.N. *kók*, O.E. *coc*, 'throat,' with the secondary meaning 'ravine,' 'chasm'; in others again to O.E. *cocc*, 'cock' (bird). Cocklake occurs also in Somerset; cf. Cocklarks, a hml. in Essex.

COLBY. Vil. 1½ m. W. of Appleby.

Coleby W. Reg. c. 1140. *Colby* Cl. R. 1355.
Colleby W. Reg. c. 1170;
 Inq. 1297; F. F. 1322.

The first el. is prob. the pers. n. *Kol*; the second is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

Coldcall. Kirkby Stephen.

This looks like an instance of 'popular etymology.' We may compare *Colleday Kelehe* in Farlam, W. Reg. c. 1210.

Colwith. Langdale.

This name may mean 'charcoal wood'; the first el. being 'coal' from O.E. *col*, and the second from O.N. *viðr*, 'wood.' Charcoal burning was a great medieval industry in the neighbourhood.

CRABSTACK. Hml. 3 m. N.E. of Crosby Ravensworth.

The second is O.N. *stakkr*, 'heap.' Accord. to E.D.D. 'stack' means 'an insulated columnar rock,' but this meaning does not fit in this case. The first el. is prob. O.N. *krabbi*, 'crab,' perhaps used as a pers. n.

CRACKENTHORPE. Vil. 2 m. N.W. of Appleby.

Crakintorp F.F. 1202; *Crakanthorp* Inq. 1300.
Inq. 1244. *Crakenthorp* Cl. R. 1331.

The first el. may be *Cracan*, gen. case of the pers. n. *Craca*, O.N. *Kraka*. For the second el. see *þorp* in W.L.

Cracow. Stainmore.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Kraka*; the second is O.N. *haugr*, 'grave-mound.' Compare Craikhow Hall, Cumb., and Cracoe, W.R. Yorkshire, for which name Moorman cites an early form *Crakehowe*.

Cragyeat. Milnthorpe.

The first el. is Celtic *craig*, *carraig*, 'rock'; the second looks like O.E. *geat*, 'gate,' 'gap.'

CROOK. Vil. 5 m. N.W. of Kendal.

Crok Inq. 1309.

This is perhaps the O.N. pers. n. *Krókr* (Björkman). Crook, which is an el. of numerous pl. ns., no doubt means in some instances 'a turn or bend in a stream' (E.D.D.)

CROSBY GARRETT. Par. 3½ m. W. of Kirkby Stephen.

Crosseby Gerard F.F. *Crosby Garet* Inq. 1463.
1208; Cl. R. 1349.

Gerard was the name of a family owning land in this parish. Searle cites *Gærheard*, *Garheard*. For the first el. see Crosby, Cumb. See also *býr* in W.L.

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH, See Ravensworth.

CROSSCRAKE. Par. 4 m. S.E. of Kendal.

Crosstcrak, Sizergh Deed c. 1528. (Scott, *Sizergh*, p. 88).

For the first el. see Crosby, Cumb. The second is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Kraka*. The name would thus mean 'Kraka's cross or monument.' The inversion of the usual order of the els. is noticeable; cf. Kirkbride and Bridekirk.

CROSTHWAITE. Vil. 5½ m. W. of Kendal.

Crostweyk Inq. 1240. *Crostquat* Inq. 1299.
Crostweit F.F. 1241. *Crostthwayte* Cl. R. 1304.

The first el. may be O.N. *kross*, for which see Crosby, Cumb.; but it could equally well come from *Croces*, the gen. case of the pers. n. *Croc*, O.N. *Krókr*; cf. Croxton, Staffs. **Crocespveit* would by metathesis easily become **Crostthwait*, which would result in Crosthwaite. For -thwaite see *pveit* in W.L. We may perhaps compare Krossholt, Krosshólar, Iceland. See Crosthwaite, Cumb.

Cunswick Hall. Underbarrow.

Konnyswycke Muncaster *Cunnyswycke* Will
MSS. 1487. (C.W.O.S. x, 143).

The first el. of Cunswick is apparently identical with that of Coniston and Conishead, Lancs. It is O.N. *konungr*, 'king,' prob. used as a pers. n. For the second el. see *vík* in W.L.

DALTON. Tnsh. in Burton par., formerly in Lancs.

Daltun D. Bk. *Dalton* Cl. R. 1359.

The first el. is perhaps the same as that of Dalston, Cumb., *q.v.*; for the second see *tūn* in W.L. Dalton is a fairly common pl. n.

Deerslet. Burton-in-Kendal.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Deor*, *Deora*; the second O.N. *slétta*, 'flat ground.'

DILICAR. Tnsh. on the Lune, nr. Grayrigg.

Dilacre 1229 (F.W.R.). *Dylaker* Inq. 1240.

Dillaker Inq. 1306.

The second el. is either O.N. *kjarr*, 'marshy ground covered with trees' or O.N. *akr*, 'field.' The first is prob. a pers. n.

DOCKER. Tnsh. 3 m. S.W. of Grayrigg.

Docker Ch. R. 1281. *Docherga* Inq. 1294.

Docarhe Inq. 1294.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Docca*, which also occurs in Dockray, Cumb. For the second el. see *erg* in W.L.

Dougill. Stainmore.

Compare Dowcrag, Coniston.

Drybarrows. Bampton.

For Dry- see next name; for -barrows see *beorg* in W.L.

DRYBECK. Vil. 4 m. S.S.W. of Appleby.

Drybec Ch. R. 1331. *Dribeck* Inq. 1290.

Driebecghile Inq. 1294.

We may compare Drybrook, Glouc., and Dryburn, Durh. The first el. may be O.E. *drȳge*, 'dry,' but I do not think it at all likely. We may note Dry How and Drybarrows, Westm., which seem to point to the pers. n. *Dryga* (Searle).

Dry How. Selside.

See preceding name. For How see *haugr* in W.L.

Dudmire. Dufton.

The second el. is O.N. *mýrr*, 'bog,' 'swamp'; the first is perhaps the N. country word *dodd* 'bare round hill or fell,' E.D.D.

DUFTON. Vil. 3½ m. N.E. of Appleby.

Dufton Inq. 1255, 1293. *Duffton* Cl. R. 1323.

For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L.

EAMONT BRIDGE. Tnsh. in Barton par., on the river Eamont.

Amoteschalthe Inq. 1291. *Amotbrigg* Test. K. 1362.

On this name Mr. Collingwood writes me the following note: 'As there are 9th and 10th cent. cross fragments at Dacre, I do not see how it can be doubted that the A.S. monastery mentioned by Bede (H.E. iv, 32) was there. And as the place was on the boundary of Cumbria and Deira, it was the natural meeting-place of Æthelstan, Constantine and Owain, whence I incline to think that *Eamotum* of the A.S. Chron. anno. 926 means Eamont.' Plummer in his edition of the A.S. Chron. ii, 126 n., identifies *Eamotum* with Emmet, Yorksh., following Thorpe and E. W. Robertson (Scotland under her Early Kings). Other scholars also support the claims of Eamont.

Eskew Beck. Orton.

Eskew may stand for either O.E. *ēast*, 'east,' or O.N. *askr*, 'ash-tree,' and O.N. *skógr*, 'wood'; cf. Northsceugh and Wescow, Cumb.

Espford. Crossthwaite.

For Esp- see next name.

Espland Hill. Long Marton.

Espland may be identical with the O.N. pl. n. *Espiland*, which Rygh cites and derives from *espi*, a form of *ǫsp*, 'aspen tree.'

EWBANK. Hml. 2 m. E. of Old Hutton.

FARLETON. Vil. in Beetham par.

Fareltun D. Bk.; Ind. *Farlton* Ch. R. 1227.

Loc. c. 1170. *Farleton* Inq. 1244.

For the first el. see Farlam, Cumb. Farleton occurs also in Lancs. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L.

FAWCETT FOREST. Nr. Selside.

Faxide Ch. R. 1247. *de Fawside* Test. K. 1374.

We may compare Fawside, Kincard., also Fawsley and Faxton, Northants., and Faxfleet, E.R. Yorksh. Fax- could be accounted for by the O.N. pers. n. *Faxi* (Rygh), but this

name would not explain Fawside or Fawcett. Searle cites *Fagan stan* from an O.E. charter. The gen. case **Fages* of a pers. n. **Fag*, **Fah*, would fully account for both *Fax*- and *Faws*-. Another possible origin would be the O.N. pers. n. *Falk*. The second el. is either O.N. *sætr* or O.E. *hēafod*, for which see W.L.

FIRBANK. Tnsh. 7 m. N.E. of Kendal.

Frebanc Ind. Loc. early *Frithebanck* Inq. 1245.
13th cent.

The M.E. word *frith*, which also occurs as *freth*, *firthe*, means, accord. to Str.-Br., 'game-preserve,' 'forest.' It is generally derived from O.E. *fyrhðe*, 'fir-wood,' a word occurring in O.E. charters (Middendorff). In Mod. English dialects, accord to E.D.D., 'frith' means 'wood, clearing in a wood; space enclosed by a wattle-hedge.' This corresponds exactly to the meaning of the word 'hay,' for which see *hege* in W.L. The second el. of Firbank is a Scand. word which in O.N. occurs as *bakki*, 'hill-side.'

Flake Howe. Mardale.

Flake is the O.N. pers. n. *Flak*. Falkman, p. 123, cites several Danish pl. ns. containing this name. For Howe see *haugr* in W.L. Compare Flaxby, W.R. Yorksh.; Flaxford, Surr.; Flaxley, Glouc.

Flass. Ravenstonedale.

See Floses, Cumb.

FLITHOLME, or Fleetholme. Hml. 1 m. N. of Musgrave.

The first el. appears to be either O.N. *fljót*, or O.E. *flēote*, 'stream,' 'sheet of water,' 'tarn.' Fleet occurs in names of rivers and water-channels, as well as of villages; cf. Fleetwood. 'A piece of moorland, through which a number of streams flow to the west of Broomhead Moors in Bradfield (W. Yorksh.) is called Broad Fleets,' E.D.D. We may also compare Croakfleet, Cumb. For -holme see *hólmr* in W.L.

Friar Bottom. Ravenstonedale.

In dialect 'bottom' or 'botten' is used for the head of a valley or gill, and is from the O.N. *botn*, with the same

meaning. We may compare Pinskey Bottom, Ravenstone-dale, a sort of 'cove' near the head of the beck, over 900 feet above sea-level. Near Friar Bottom is also a cove at the head of a beck. For Friar cf. Frerebiggins, Orton (N. and B. i, 482).

GAISGILL. Hml. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of Tebay.

This may be another spelling of Gatesgill, Cumb., *q.v.* Compare also Gatesgarth Pass, nr. Mardale.

Gale Barn. Hutton Roof.

See Gale Hall, Cumb.

Gale Garth. Casterton.

See preceding name; see also *garðr* in W.L.

Galliber. Long Marton.

Galhebergh W. Reg. 1256.

See Gallowberry, Cumb.

GARNET BRIDGE. Hml. nr. Long Sleddale.

Most probably from a well-known local family.

GARRETT. See Crosby Garrett.

GLENRIDDING. Hml. nr. Patterdale.

Rygh mentions an O.N. word *glenna*, which, though not actually found in O.N. literature, occurs frequently in pl. ns. with the meaning of 'clearing in a wood,' 'grass-covered space between rock-walls' (N. Gaardn., p. 51). Glen-, however, may be a Celtic word here, cf. Welsh *glyn*, 'valley.' We may compare Glencoin, not far distant from Glenridding, early forms of which are *Clencon* Inq. 1291; *Glenekone* F. F. 1255; also Glenderaterra and Glenderamackin, Skiddaw; *Glenscalan* or *Glensalan*, Coniston, Lancs. Pipe Roll 1170-84; cf. Glenterra, Galloway. For -ridding see *hryding* in W.L.

Goodle Hill. Ormside.

This is a pers. n. such as *Guðweald*, or *Godwulf*, or *Godweald*.

Graining Field. Grayrigg.

For the first el. see *grein* in W.L. The second is O.N. *eng*, 'pasture-land,' which is found as *ing* in Norse pl. ns., as Rygh remarks. The name then means 'the pasture at the point where two streams or glens meet.' We may compare *Grensicflat* in Aglionby, W. Reg. c. 1225.

GRASMERE.

Gresmere Inq. 1240.

Gressemere Ch. R. 1275;

Grismere Inq. 1244; Test. Inq. 1300.

K. 1354.

Judging by the early form *Grismere*, the first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Gríss*, Danish *Gris* (Nielsen and Björkman), which also seems to be the first el. of Grisdale and Griseburn, Westm. The spellings *Gresmere* and *Gressemere* are not easily accounted for. The second el. is O.E. *mere*, 'lake.' Compare also Greasborough, W.R. Yorksh.

GRAYRIGG. Vil. 5¼ m. N.E. of Kendal.

Grarig Inq. 1240; Cl. R. 1276.

Crarigg F. F. 1278.

The first el. may be a pers. n. such as *Gra*, quoted by Nielsen from an Old Danish source. The O.N. *grár*, 'grey,' used as a pers. n., would also account for the first el. The second is O.N. *hryggr*, 'ridge of a hill,' found in many North country names, and occurring in dialect as 'rigg.'

Greena. Stainmore.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n.; the second is O.N. *haugr*, 'hill,' 'mound.'

GREENHOLME. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Orton.

Green- also occurs in Green Bell Mountain, Greenside, Greenhead Ghyll and Greena; further, in the Cumb. names Greenup Edge, and Greenah Cragg. The word 'green,' which occurs in numerous pl. ns., is no doubt in some cases, perhaps in most cases, the adj. denoting colour, but in others it may well represent a pers. n., e.g., in Greenside and in Greensfield, Northd. It is further worth noting that the dial. word *grain*, from O.N. *grein*, 'branch,' meaning a river-fork or bifurcation of valleys or ravines, is pronounced 'green' [grin] in Chesh., accord to E.D.D. Greenholme may therefore mean

either 'green island or riverside meadow,' or else 'Green's island,' etc. Greenholme is situated at the foot of the fells on quite flat ground, near a tributary of the Lune.

Griseburn. Asby.

The second el. may be for 'borran'; see Borrans.

See Grasmere.

GRISDALE BRIDGE. Nr. Patterdale.

Grisdale Lowther Deed 1425 (C.W.N.S. xi, 472).

For Grise- see Grasmere.

GULLOM HOLME. Hml. nr. Milburn.

Gullom probably contains as first el. the O.N. pers. n. *Gulli*, a short form of *Guðleifr* or *Guðleikr*. Rygh cites the O.N. plns. *Guðholm* and *Gullesfjorden*. Gullom may thus stand for either *Gulla ham* or *Gulla heim*, or else *Gulla hólmr*. See *ham* and *holm* in W.L.

GUNNERKELD. Pl. nr. Shap.

The pers. n. *Gunner* occurs frequently in O.E. sources (Searle); it is the O.N. pers. n. *Gunnar*. Its gen. case also forms the first el. of Gunnersbury, Middlesex, also of Gunnerside, N.R. Yorksh. The second el. is O.N. *kelda*, 'spring.'

Gunnerwell. Morland.

For Gunner- see preceding name.

Haber (End). Asby.

Hayberch le Fleming Ch. *Hayberch* W. Reg. 1256.
c. 1230 (see C.W.N.S.
ix, 200).

The first el. may be O.E. *hege*, 'fenced in woodland'; see W.L. The second is O.E. *beorg*, 'hill.'

HACKTHORPE. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Lowther.

Hakethorpe Assise Roll *Hakethorp* F.F. 1278.
1236.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Hakka* (Searle), corresponding to the O.N. *Haki*, *Hako* (Rygh, Nielsen). The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *þorp*, 'village,' *q.τ.* in W.L.

HAG END. New Hutton.

E.D.D. gives as one of the meanings of *hag*, a dial. word chiefly found in Scotl. and the N. of England, 'a clearing or cutting down of timber; a certain portion of wood, marked off to be cut down.' The word is O.N. *hogg*, 'blow,' 'slash,' connected with *hoggrva*, 'to cut down,' 'fell.' Compare Hagg, Cumb. H. Lindkvist has a good note on Hag(g) in his article: 'Some Old Scandinavian deposits in M.E. records,' *Minnesskrift till Axel Erdmann*, Feb. 1913.¹

HALE. (1) Hml. nr. Beetham, (2) hml. nr. Newbiggin.

Hale is a common el. of pl. ns., both separately and in composition. See Haile, Cumb.

Hale Grange. Newbiggin.

See Haile, Cumb.

Hale Field. Kirkby Thore.

See Haile, Cumb.

Halligill. Asby.

Perhaps from the pers. n. *Halli*. For -gill see *gil* in W.L.

HANGING LUND. Hml. nr. Mallerstang.

Lund is O.N. *lundr*, 'copse'; cf. Lund, Cumb. 'Hanging' is used of a wood, to denote that it is on a hill-side.

Harberwain. [hárbóræn]. Crosby Ravensworth.

The terminal -berwain is prob. identical with *borran*, for which see *Borrans*.

HARDENDALE. Hml. 1 m. S.E. of Shap.

Hardenesdal Ch. R. 1247. *Herdendale* Test. K. 1376.
Hardnesdale F. F. circa 1400.

The first el. is *Heardwines*, gen. case of *Heardwine*. The second el. is O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr*, 'dale.'

HARE SHAW. Mtn. nr. Swindale.

See Haresceugh, Cumb. Shaw is from O.E. *sceaga*, 'wood,' corresponding to O.N. *skógr*.

1. The O.N. *hagi* 'pasture,' 'field for grazing,' may possibly have influenced the meaning of *Hag*.

HARTLEY. Tnsh. in Kirkby Stephen.

de Hartecla For. Proc. *Harcla* F.F. 1306; Cl. R.
1265 (C.W.N.S. vii, 4). 1323.

Hartcla Inq. 1291. *Hertley* Inq. 1463.

The first el. is probably the O.N. pers. n. *Higrtr*, O.E. *Heorot*, which properly means 'stag,' 'hart.' Compare Hartsop, Westm.; also Harker, Hartlow, Cumb. The second el. is difficult to explain. It may be O.N. *ld*, which, according to Rygh, occurs as the terminal of numerous Scand. pl. ns. with the meaning of 'shallow water,' and in later times of 'marsh water.' This word could, as a terminal, easily be mistaken for the common terminal *-lei*, *ley*, from O.E. *lēah*, 'pasture-land.' Or, secondly, it may be O.E. *hlāw*, 'grave-mound.' The spelling *Hartcla* and *Harcla* seem to be due to the similarity in sound between *tl* and *cl* [kl], especially in the Cumb. and Westm. dialect (Brilioth), leading to confusion on the part of scribes.

HARTSOP. Hml. 2 m. S. by E. of Patterdale.

Herteshop F. F. 1255, 1320.

For the first el. see preceding name. The second is O.N. *hópr*, 'opening,' 'glen'; for which compare Hopesike Woods, Cumb.

HAVERBRACK. Tnsh. in Beetham.

Haverbroke F. F. 1278. *Haverbreck* Cl. R. 1287.

Halfrebek, a name in Ivo Tailbois' charter, is identified with Haverbrack by Prescott in W. Reg. p. 412. For the first el. see Haverigg, Cumb. The second is, I think, not O.E. *brōc*, 'brook,' but is identical with the el. *-breck*, *brick*, which occurs in numerous pl. ns., especially in Lancs.; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl. Ns., p. 298. Wyld regards O.N. *brekka*, 'slope,' as the probable original of this terminal, but it is unlikely that this form could appear in an English pl. n. We should rather expect 'brink,' just as we find 'bank' for O.N. *bakki*. E.D.D. *sub.v. break*, written also *brek*, *breck*, *brick*, *brake*, *brak*, *breake*, gives among other meanings the following: "a piece of ground broken up for cultivation or other

purposes, a piece of unenclosed arable land; a large division of an open corn-field." The Lancs. pl. ns. Norbreck, Esprick, Sunbrick, may also contain this word as their second el. The word 'breck' is doubtless from the root of O.E. *brecan*, 'to break.' Compare Breaks, and Calebrack, Cumb. farmsteads.

Hawforth, or **Halforth**. Levens, on the Kent.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Halli*; or else O.E. *halh*, for which see Haile, Cumb. For -forth see *ford* in W.L.

HAY. Hml. nr. New Hutton.

This is O.E. *hege*, 'hedge,' 'fence,' M.E. *hei*, *hai*. A 'hay' was 'a tract in a forest enclosed by hedges, used for confining game, and thus rendering the beasts more accessible'; Vinogradoff, E.S. in the Eleventh Century, p. 292. Very common, both separately and as an el. of pl. ns.

HAZELSLACK. Hml. 1 m. E. of Arnside.

Hesleslac Inq. 1244.

de Hesleslack Westm.

Assize Roll 1256.

According to E.D.D. the following are some of the dialect meanings of *slack*: (1) 'a hollow, especially one in a hill-side; a dip in the surface of the ground; a shallow dell, a glade; a pass between hills.' (2) 'A hollow, boggy place, a morass; a shallow, freshwater pool.' (3) 'A smooth reach in a river where the current is slow.' The first el. may be O.N. *hesli*, O.E. *hæsel*, 'hazel,' if it is not a pers. n.

HEGDALE. Hml. 2½ m. N.N.W. of Shap.

Hegdal Ch. of Robert, son of Orm; late 12 c.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Heggr* (Rygh). For -dale see *dalr* in W.L.

HEGGERSCALE. Vil. 4 m. N.E. of Kirkby Stephen.

For this name Lindkvist cites the early forms *Hegilscale* Inq. 1402, and *Hegelscales* Inq. 1422. We may compare the early form *Heggerholm* Inq. 1344. I cannot suggest an origin for the first el. unless it be the pers. n. *Egil*; for the second see *skdli* in W.L.

HELBECK, or HILLBECK. Par. 1 m. N. of Brough.

de Helbeck Shap. deed c. *Hellebek* F.F. 1231; Cl.R.
 1237 (C.W.N.S. xiv, 1345.
 32). *Ellebeck* Inq. 1291.

Helbeck occurs also in N.R. Yorksh. Compare Hellgill, nr. Mallerstang. The first el. is a pers. n., most probably the O.N. *Helgi*, which occurs as the first el. in very many Norwegian pl. ns. (Rygh). It may, however, possibly be O.N. *hellir*, 'cave.' The second el. is O.N. *bekkr*, 'brook.'

HELSINGTON. Par. 3½ m. S.W. of Kendal.

Helsingetune D. Bk. *Helsyngton* Inq. 1295;
Helsinton Inq. 1240. Cl. R. 1318.
Helsington Inq. 1262; *Hilsyngton* Cl. R. 1345.
 Cl. R. 1298.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Helsingr*, mentioned by Björkman, N. Pers., p. 67, but not by Rygh. The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

HELTON. Vil. in Askham par., 6 m. S. of Penrith.

Helton F. F. 1241, 1278; Inq. 1288; Cl. R. 1323.

The first el. is prob. the Scand. pers. n. *Helgi*; see Helbeck. For the second see *tūn* in W.L.

HEYERSHAM. Vil. 7½ m. S.W. of Kendal.

Evreshaim D. Bk. *Heveresham* Cl. R. 1301.
Eueresheim Ind. Loc. c. *Heverseym* Lanc. Priv.
 1200. Deeds 1316.
Eueresham Ind. Loc. c.
 1220.

The first el. is clearly the gen. case of a pers. n., which Lindkvist considers to have been O.N. *Jofurr*. Another possible origin is the O.E. *eofor*, 'wild boar,' used as a pers. n. The second el. is O.N. *heimr*, 'farmstead,' which has been changed to the English form, -ham; see W.L.

HILTON. Vil. 4 m. E. of Appleby.

de Helton F. F. 1329.

This name is identical with Helton, *q.v.*

HINCASTER. Tnsh. in Heversham par.

Hennecastre D. Bk. *Henecaster* F. F. 1291.

Hanecaster F. F. 1260. *Hencastre* Inq. 1302.

The earlier form *Hanecaster* seems to point to the O.N. pers. n. *Hani* which, judging by earlier forms of certain pl. ns. such as Hanney, Berks., Henlow, Beds., must have also occurred as *Han* or *Hann*. Skeat cites the early forms *Hanelawe* and *Henelaue* for Henlow, but we must beware of taking it for granted that sound-changes observed in the S. of England hold good for the N. If *Henecaster* is the earlier form the first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Heðinn*, which occurs in Norwegian pl. ns. as *Hen-*, *Heng-* (Rygh). Björkman cites *Hithun* from the Durham Liber Vitae, also the O. Swed. *Hidhin* and the O. Dan. *Hithen*. For the change from *Heðinn* to *Hen-* cf. 'since,' from Mid. E. *sithen*, and *Swin-* in pl. ns. from Swithin. *Hen-*, like *Han-*, occurs as first el. in many pl. ns. The change from *Hen-* to *Hin-* is quite usual, the vowel *e* being raised to *i* before *nc* [ŋk]; cf. 'link' from O. Scand. **hlenkr*, O.N. *hlekk*, O.E. *hlenca*, *hlence*; also [inglond] from *Englaland*, etc. For -caster see *ceaster* in W.L. No certain remains of an early fort are known.

Hipshow. Skelsmergh.

Heppeshou F. F. 1231. *Heppeshow* F. F. 1234.

The first el. is the gen. case of the pers. n. *Hepp* or *Heppo* (Searle), which also perh. occurs in Shap, *q.v.* For 'how' see *haugr* in W.L. The name thus means 'Hepp's mound or cairn.' In W. Reg. 12 c., the pl. n. *Hapeshowe* occurs in the *territorium* of Salkeld Regis.

HOFF. Vil. 2½ m. S.W. of Appleby.

Hoff F. F. 1278; Inq. 1290; *Hoffe* Inq. 1262; Cl. R. 1294.
Cl. R. 1327.

Offe Inq. 1261.

This name may represent the first part of an older form compounded of the O.E. pers. n. *Offa*, which also occurs as *Ofa*, *Ofi* (Searle), and a second el. such as *-tūn*, *bȳ*, etc. For parallel cases cf. Levens and Shap.

Hollins. Grayrigg.

See Hollins, Cumb.

HOLMESCALES. Vil. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. of Kendal.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Holmr* (Rygh). The second is O.N. *skáli*, 'temporary hut,' for which see W.L.

Holme Lion. Strickland Ketel.

Holmliolsbank, Holmliosbank, Cl. R. 1349.

This name is an instance of putting the defining word in a pl. n. (here a pers. n.) last instead of first; cf. *Holmcultram*. The pers. n. in this case is prob. *Ligulf*, the gen. case of which occurs in the early forms cited above. Searle cites a contracted form *Liulf*, the gen. case of which would give *liols* in the M.E. period.

Hornsbarrow. Lupton.

Means 'Horn's grave-mound'; see *beorg* in W.L.

HOWTOWN. Hml. nr. Martindale.

The first el. is perhaps O.E. *hōh* or O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'tumulus'; the second is a modern spelling of the usual terminal -ton, from O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.' Compare Hutton, Cumb. But Howtown may be a recent name.

HUGILL. Par. 2 m. E. of Windermere, nr. Staveley.

Hagayl Inq. 1240.

Hogayl F. F. 1255; Inq.

Holgill Inq. 1338.

1299.

Hogille Inq. 1413.

The first el. may be a pers. n. or else O.N. *hóll*, 'hill,' 'knoll'; see W.L. The original form of the second el. seems to be O.N. *geil*, 'way,' 'path,' also 'narrow glen.' This is also no doubt the origin of the word *gale*, which is cited in E.D.D. from a Westm. newspaper and explained as 'a place in the hollow of a hill,' but marked as 'not known to our correspondents.' The Yorksh. word *goalin*, 'narrow passage,' and 'goal' seem to be derived from an O.E. form **gāl*, corresponding to *geil*, but not recorded. Further, the dialect word *gowl* may be noted, with the meaning 'hollow passage,' 'defile between mountains,' E.D.D. The O.N. *gil*, 'glen,'

'ravine,' replaced *geil* at an early period in Hugill; cf. the early Cumb. pl. n. forms *Scalgaile*, Inq. 1321, *Skalegaile* Cl.R. 1338, *Scalgill* Inq. 1334, cited by Lindkvist; also the Cumb. farm-names Galefield, Gale Hall, and the Westm. farm-names Gale Barn, Gale Garth.

Hullock Howe. Bampton.

Hullock is possibly the pers. n. *Hygelac*, O.N. *Hugleikr*; for Howe see *haugr* in W.L.

Hundhow. Strickland Roger, Burnside parish.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Hund*, *Hunda*; for -how see *haugr* in W.L.

HUTTON ROOF. Par. 3 m. S.W. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

There are several places in Westm. named Hutton.

Hotun D. Bk.

Hotonruf Inq. 1293.

Hoton F. F. 1231.

Hoton Roef Cl. R. 1355.

Hoton Roffeby Inq. 1262.

Houtonroef Cl. R. 1348.

Hoton Roff Inq. 1285,

1293.

For Hutton see Hutton, Cumb. Roof may be the common pers. n. *Rolf* (Björkman), and it seems to have formed part of a pl. n. judging by the early form *Roffeby*.

HUTTON-IN-THE-HAY. Tnsh. with Skelsmergh.

See preceding name. For Hay see Hay.

INGS. Another name for Hugill.

This is O.N. *eng*, 'pasture land.' In English dialects 'ing' means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a meadow, pasture, esp. low-lying land by the side of a stream or river, etc.; frequent in plural.' Compare Turnings, Cumb.

Intack. Mallerstang.

See Intake, Cumb.

KABER. Vil. 2½ m. N.E. of Kirkby Stephen.

Kaberge F. F. 1200.

Kakeberge F. F. 1278.

Kaberberghe F. F. 1202.

Cabergh Inq. 1314.

Kabergh Cl. R. 1331, 1345.

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The first el. is prob. a pers. n. All the early forms except *Kakeberge* and *Kaberberghe* could be derived from the O.N. pers. n. *Kagi* and O.N. *berg*, 'hill,' 'mound.' Rygh thinks that several O.N. pl. ns. postulate a pers. n. **Kaki*. It is worth noting that Searle cites *Caberes bec* from a charter. Perhaps there is a confusion in the first el. between two pers. ns. *Kaki* and *Caber*. See *Caber*, Cumb.

Kaker Mill. Preston Patrick.

Kak- may be a pers. n. **Kaki* (see preceding name); the second el. is prob. O.N. *erg*, 'summer pasture.'

KEASTWICK. Hml. 1 m. N.W. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

KEISLEY. Hml. 1½ m. S.E. of Dufton.

Kifisclive F. F. 1291.

Kesclyve F. F. 1325.

Kescliff Inq. 1293.

Kesklef Cl. R. 1362.

Kesseklyff Inq. 1460.

The form *Kifisclive* gives us the clue to the derivation. The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Kefsir*, cited by Lind, which was probably a nickname, as the O.N. *kefsir* meant 'mistress,' 'concubine,' corresponding to the O.E. *cefes* or *ciefes*. The second el. is either O.N. *klif*, 'cliff,' 'slope,' or O.N. *kleif*, 'broad hill-slope.' In the modern name the terminal has been confused with the common terminal -ley, from O.E. *lēah*, 'pasturage.'

KELD. Hml. nr. Shap.

This is O.N. *kelda*, 'spring.'

Kelkerwell. Hutton Roof.

The first el. may be O.N. *kelda*, 'spring,' or else *Kell*, a short form of the O.N. pers. n. *Ketill*; the second O.N. *kjarr*, 'thicket on swampy ground.' The terminal -well is either O.E. *well*, 'spring,' or O.N. *vǫllr*, 'grassy field.' The English 'well' would be added when the meaning of the first el. was forgotten.

KELLETH. Hml. 3½ m. S.E. of Orton.

Keldelyth Inq. 1293. *Kellok* Ind. Loc. 1316.

Kellet Cl. R. 1286; F. F. *Keldlit* F. F. 1336.
1419.

This name seems to be derived from O.N. *kelda*, 'spring,' and O.N. or O.E. *hlið*, 'slope.' The early form *Kellok* seems a misspelling.

Kemphow. Shap.

Kemp- is perhaps the O.N. pers. n. *Kampi*; -how is O.N. *haugr*, 'hill.'

KENDAL. Tn.

Kendal F. F. 1225; Cl. R. *Kendale* Cl. R. 1272, 1360,
1276. 1370.

'The dale of the river Kent,' on which the town stands.
Early forms of Kent are:

Kentha F. F. 1223. *Kent* F. F. 1241; Inq. 1262.
Keent Inq. 1300.

The second el. is O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr*, 'dale.'

KENTMERE. Vil. 8½ m. N.W. of Kendal, on the Kent.

Kenetemere Inq. 1240. *Kentemere* Inq. 1262; Cl. R.
1272, 1373.

The first el. is *Kent*, the name of the river; the second is O.E. *mere*, 'lake.' In Northern dialects *mere* means 'a small lake or sheet of standing water; a pond,' E.D.D. There used to be a lake here, now drained.

KILLINGTON. Par. 7 m. N. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Kylington Inq. 1237. *Kayllington* Inq. 1245.

Kayllington looks like an error in spelling. We may compare Killingbeck, Killinghall and Kellington, W.R. Yorksh.; Killingholme, Lincs.; Killington, Devon; Chillington, Somerset and Staffs.; and Chillingham, Northd. The first el. is clearly a pers. n., but which one it is impossible to say; it may be *Cylla*, *Ceolwine*, *Cælin*, or some other. The second el. is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

KIRKBY. There are four pls. of this name: Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, Kirkby Thore, and Kirkby Kendal.

<i>Cherkeby Lannesdale</i> W.	<i>Kirkebysteffan</i> F. F. 1223.
Reg. c. 1100.	<i>Kirkebystephen</i> Inq. 1291.
<i>Kirkebilonesdale</i> F. F.	<i>Kirkebithore</i> Pat. R. 1223.
1208.	<i>Kyrkebythore</i> F. F. 1246;
<i>Kirkebi in Lounesdale</i>	Inq. 1300.
Ch. R. 1227.	
<i>Cherkaby Stephan</i> W.	
Reg. c. 1100.	

Kirkby or Kirby means 'church farm,' from O.N. *kirkja*, 'church,' and O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' The form *kirk* hardly occurs in pl. ns. outside Scotland, the northern Engl. counties, and Leicester; elsewhere we find *church* from O.E. *cirice*. In Kirkby Thore, the latter name may be the pers. n. *Thori* or the O.N. woman's name *þóra* (Rygh).

KNIPE. Hml. 1 m. N. of Bampton.

Gnype Patrik alias *Knype* Inq. 1314. *Gnype* Inq. 1291.

Cf. Knipe Scar, Cumb. The word means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a sharp or narrow ridge.' We may compare *kneep*, used in Shetl. and Orkn., meaning 'a promontory.' Knipe is also the name of a hill in Ayrshire; Knipton is a vil. in Leic. The original form is O.N. *gnípa*, 'mountain peak or top.'

LAMBRIGG. Par. 5 m. N.E. of Kendal.

Lamberig Inq. 1245, 1294. *Lambrig* F. F. 1383.

The first el. seems to be the O.N. pers. n. *Lambi*. Lamb occurs as first el. in numerous pl. ns. The second el. of Lambrigg is O.N. *hryggr*, O.E. *hrycg*, 'back,' 'ridge of a hill.'

LANGTON. Hml. 1 m. E. of Appleby.

Langeton Inq. 1291; Cl. R. 1345.

The first el. is O.E. *lang*, 'long,' or else the pers. n. *Lang*. The second is O.E. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

Lankaber [laŋkəbər]. Crosby Ravensworth.

Lathey. Bolton.

From O.N. *hlaða*, 'barn,' and O.N. *ey*, *q.v.* in W.L.

Ledder Howe. Stainmore.

Ledder is the O.E. pers. n. *Leodhere*. Howe is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'tumulus,' 'hill.'

LEVENS. Par. 5½ m. S.W. of Kendal.

Lefuenes D. Bk.

Lyvenes Ch. R. 1267.

Levenes F. F. 1241; Inq.

1241.

This is apparently an instance of the survival of the name alone of the man after whom the place was called, the word meaning 'farm,' 'field,' etc., having dropped off. The pers. n. in this instance is the gen. case of *Leofwine*, a very common O.E. name, occurring in several pl. ns. as Levenshulme, Lancs., Leventhorp, W.R. Yorks.

Linglow. Asby.

The first el. may be O.N. *lyng*, 'heather'; cf. Ling Holm and Lingey Closehead, Cumb., but I prefer to derive it from O.N. *Lyng*-, which Rygh postulates for several Norwegian pl. ns. The second is O.E. *hlāw*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.'

LOCKHOLME. Hml. nr. Ravenstonedale.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n. Björkman cites the name *Loc*, also *Lochi* (D. Bk.). The second el. is O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L.

LOUGHRIGG. Hml. 2 m. W. of Ambleside.

Loucrigg Cl. R. 1275. *Loghrygg* Ch. R. 1275.

Loughrigg Inq. 1300.

See Loughrigg, Cumb. Rigg is O.N. *hryggr* or O.E. *hrycg*, 'ridge of a hill.'

LOWTHER. Vil. 4 m. S. of Penrith, on the river Lowther.

Louder F. F. 1196.

Louther Pat. R. 1232.

Laudre P. R. 1225.

Lauderforn P. R. 1254.

Lotrhe P. R. 1226.

Louthyr F. F. 1285.

Louthre Cl. R. 1289.

We may compare 'the Lowthers,' a mtn. range in Lanarksh.

and Dumfr.; also perhaps Lauder and Lauderdale, Berwicksh.

LUPTON. Par. 4 m. N.W. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Lupetun D. Bk.

Lupton Inq. 1249; Cl. R.

Lupeton F. F. 1200.

1349.

The first el. is probably the pers. n. *Lubo*, *Luba*, or *Lubba* (Searle); the second is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

LYTH. Hml. 5 m. N.W. of Milnthorpe.

le Liht Inq. 1249.

le Lyth F. F. 1278.

O.N. or O.E. *hlið*, 'hill-side,' 'slope.'

MALLERSTANG. Tnsh. in Kirkby Stephen.

Malrestang F. F. 1223;

Pat. R. 1228.

Inq. 1250.

Mallerstang Inq. 1249;

Malverstang, *Malvestang*

F. F. 1306; Cl. R. 1334.

The first el. might be the Dan. pers. n. *Malfrið*, O.N. *Malmfriðr*, cited by Nielsen. The second el. is either O.N. *tangi*, 'spit of land,' or O.N. *stang*, 'post,' used as beacon or landmark.

MANSERGH. Par. 2½ m. N. of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Manzsergh D. Bk.

Manser Cl. R. 1359.

Mannissergh F. F. 1207.

Mansargh F. F. 1384.

The first el. is *Mannes*, the gen. case of the fairly common pers. n. *Man* or *Mann*. The second el. is an O.N. word, *erg*, 'hill-pasture,' or 'shieling,' for which see W.L.

MARDALE GREEN. Vil. 1 m. S. of Hawes Water.

Merdale F. F. 1278.

The first el. may be O.E. *mere*, 'sheet of water,' 'lake,' or *Mere*-, the first part of several pers. ns., as *Merewine*. The second el. is O.N. *dalr* or O.E. *dæl*, 'dale.'

MARTINDALE. Par. on E. side of Ullswater.

Martindale Inq. 1237, 1257.

'Martin's dale.' Martin was in use in the O.E. period (Searle).

(Long) **MARTON**. Vil. $3\frac{1}{4}$ m. N.N.W. of Appleby.

Merton Inq. 1250; F. F. 1334; Cl. R. 1345.

The first el. may be O.E. *mere* or *Mere-*; see Mardale Green. Merton and Marton are common pl. ns.

MEABURN. There are two pls. with this name, (1) Maulds Meaburn in Orton par., and (2) Meaburn Regis, or King's Meaburn, in the adjoining par. of Morland.

Maiburne W. Reg. c. 1115. *Meburne Maud* Inq. 1244.

Meabrun W. Reg. c. 1125. *Medburn* F. F. 1278.

Mebrun Byland Abbey *Meburn Matild* F. F. 1291.

Charter, c. 1190; Inq. *Maldesmeburn* Cl. R. 1355.

1294.

Meburn Maud Pat. R.

1357.

1279.

Maulds means Matilda's or Maud's. The Matilda after whom the pl. is named was the sister of Hugh de Morville, Lord of Burgh, and wife of William de Veteriponte (regno H. II). *Matilda* or *Matild* hardly appears in English documents until after the Norman Conquest; Maud is the contracted form. The first el. of Meaburn is difficult to determine, but it is prob. a pers. n. We may compare Medbourne, Leic., Wilts. The second el. is either O.N. *brunnr*, 'brook,' 'stream,' or else O.N. *brún*, 'sharp edge (of a moor, etc.).'

MEAL BANK. Pl. nr. New Hutton.

Meal is O.N. *melr*, 'sand bank,' 'sandhill'; see W.L. Compare Mealo, Mealrigg, Mealsgate, Cumb.

MEALY SYKE. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. of Thrimby.

The form *Melsac*, which occurs in a F. F. roll relating to Westm., dated 1241, may refer to Mealy Syke, but if so, it looks like a misspelling. *Mealy* is O.N. *melr*, 'sandhill'; the -y may represent a terminal, which cannot now be recovered with certainty; see Mealo, Cumb. For Syke see *sik* in W.L. see also Hopesike Woods, Cumb.

MEASAND [mizən or mizənd]. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Bampton.

Mesand 1413 (F. W. R.).

This name looks like O.N. *mjósund*, 'narrow water or channel,' the hamlet being at the narrow part of Hawes Water (Collingwood).

MEATHOP [mīþəp]. With Ulpha forms par. 5 m. W. of Milnthorpe.

Midhop F. F. 1255.

Methope F. F. 1278.

Mythop F. F. 1279.

The second el. is O.N. *hóþr*, 'small creek or ravine'; see Hopesike Woods, Cumb. The first el. is perhaps O.N. *miðr*, *mið*, 'middle'; or it may be a pers. n.

MELKINTHORPE. Vil. 4 m. S.E. of Penrith.

Milkanthorp Cl. R. 1281. *de Melkanthorp* Cl. R. 1287; F. F. 1334.

Melkanthorp Inq. 1314.

The first el. is, accord. to Collingwood, Sc. Brit., p. 212, the Irish pers. n. Maelchon. I can offer no opinion on this suggestion, but I agree that the el. is a pers. n. For the second el. see *þorp* in W.L.

MILBURN. Vil. 6½ m. N.W. of Appleby.

Milnebrunn F. F. 1200.

Millenburne Inq. 1291.

Milleburne Ind. Loc. temp.
early Hen. III.

Milneburn Cl. R. 1322.

The first el. is O.E. *mylen*, or O.N. *mylna*, 'mill.' The second is O.E. *burna* or O.N. *brunnr*, 'stream,' 'burn.'

MILNTHORPE. Town 7½ m. S. of Kendal, on the river Kent.

de Milnethorp Lowther MSS. 1398; C.W.N.S. xiv, 46.

For Miln- see preceding name. The second el. is O.N. or O.E. *þorp*, 'village.'

Mintsfeet. Kendal, on the river Mint.

Mimet D. Bk.

Feet is doubtless O.N. *fit*, 'meadow.'

Mirk How. Crosthwaite.

Compare Mirkbooths and Mirkholme, Cumb.

Mislet. Windermere.

Micheleslet, *Mikeleswyk* Assize Roll 1256.

'Michael's flat meadow'; the second el. being O.N. *slétta*.

MORLAND. Vil. 7 m. W.N.W. of Appleby.

Morlund Ch. of Ketel, son of Eltred, W. Reg., late 11 c.

Morland W. Reg. c. 1150.

Murlund Ind. Loc. c. 1200.

For the first el. see Murthwaite. The second el. is either O.E. *land*, 'land,' 'field,' *q.v.* in W.L., or O.N. *lundr*, 'copse.' The early forms cited do not enable us to decide, as *u* and *a* are frequently confused by copyists.

Morra Head. Bampton.

Morra may be the same word as Murrah, Cumb., *q.v.*

MURTHWAITE. Hml. in Ravenstonedale par.

The first el. is either O.E., O.N. *mōr*, 'moor,' or else the pers. n. *Mor*. The second el. is O.N. *þveit*, 'piece of ground,' 'field.' Compare Moorthwaite, Cumb., and Murton, Westm.

MURTON. Par. 3 m. E. of Appleby.

Morton F. F. 1288. *Moreton* Inq. 1314.

For the first el. see preceding name. The second is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.' Murton also occurs in Cumb.

MUSGRAVE. Par. 4 m. N.W. of Kirkby Stephen.

Musegrave F. F. 1272. *Mosegrave* 1260 (F.W.R.).

Musgrave W. Reg. 1248; Cl. R. 1354.

The first el. is O.E. *mos* or O.N. *mosi*, 'peat-bog,' 'moss.' The second is either O.E. *græf* or O.N. *grǽf*, 'trench,' 'pit.' The name thus means 'the pit from which peats are cut.' There used to be a good deal of boggy and peat land in the lower part of the parish by the Eden.

NATEBY. Tnsh. in Kirkby Stephen par.

Nateby F. F. 1246; Cl. R. 1304; Inq. 1314.

This name occurs also in Lancs.; we may also compare Natland, Westm., and Nateby, Hants. Lindkvist, in discussing (p. 202 n.) the first el. of these names, remarks that it may not have the same origin in all the cases. As possible derivations he suggests (1) a Scand. pers. n. *Nati*, found only in the *Edda*; (2) O.N. *hnata*, a secondary gen. pl. of *hnot*, 'nut,'

occurring in some compounds; (3) an O.N. river-name *Nēl*. Of these suggestions I prefer the first. Collingwood's derivation from O.N. *naut*, 'cattle,' Sc. Brit., p. 212, is against the evidence of the early forms. For -by see *býr* in W.L.

NATLAND. Vil. 2 m. S. of Kendal.

Natelond Inq. 1245.

For first el. see preceding name.

NEWBIGGIN. Vil. 7 m. E. of Penrith.

Niewebigginge W. Reg. *Neubigging* Pat. R. 1223;
1208. F. F. 1224.

O.E. *nīwe*, 'new,' and O.N. *bygging*, 'dwelling,' 'cottage'; see Biggins. There is a Newbiggin in Cumb.

NEWBY. Hml. nr. Morland.

Neweby F. F. 1200.

'New farm,' from O.E. *nīwe* and O.N. *býr*. This name occurs also in Cumb.

Ninezergh. Levens.

de Niandesergh Assize Roll 1256.

The first el. is prob. a pers. n.; cf. Ninham, I. of W. For the second see *erg* in W.L.

ODDENDALE. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Crosby Ravensworth.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Odwine*, or else *Ordwine*; the second is O.E. *dæl* or O.N. *dalr*, 'dale.'

ORMSIDE. Vil. 4 m. S.S.E. of Appleby.

Ormesheued F. F. 1202; Inq. 1314; Cl. R. 1361.

The first el. is *Ormes*, gen. case of *Orm*, a common Scand. pers. n. (Björkman). The second el. is O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'highest part' of a hill-side, field, etc., perhaps substituted for an earlier form -*set*, from O.N. *sætr*, 'dairy farm'; see W.L.

ORTON. Vil. 3 m. N.E. of Tebay.

Overton Inq. 1252; Ch. R. 1278; F. F. 1288; Cl. R. 1302.

The first el. is from either O.N. *ofarr*, 'upper,' O.E. *ofer*, or else O.E. *ōfer*, 'river-bank.' The river Lune flows by the S.

of the par. Compare Overton, Lancs., which is also on the Lune, and Wyld's remarks *ad. loc.* Orton also occurs in Cumb. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L.

OUTHGILL. Hml. in Mallerstang par., 5 m. S. of Kirkby Stephen.

The first el. may be *Outh-*, which occurs in Scand. pers. ns. *Ouðbern*, *Ouðgrim*, *Ouðulf*, all used in England (Björkman). The second el. is O.N. *gil*, 'ravine.' But see Outhwaite, Cumb.

OXENHOLME. Hml. nr. Natland.

Oxinholme Inq. 1240.

The first el. may be O.E. *oxa*, 'ox,' used perhaps as a pers. n. Ox- and oxen- occur in a number of pl. ns., where in some cases it would be preferable to regard them as representing a pers. n. rather than as denoting the animal, *e.g.*, Oxenhope, W.R. Yorksh., and Oxenwood, Wilts. Rygh cites the pers. n. *Oxa*, *Oxi*; see next name. For -holme see *hólmr* in W.L. We may compare *Oxeberghe* Cumb. F. F. 1202.

OXENTHWAITE. Hml. nr. Stainmore.

de Oxsthwayt Test. K. 1380.

The early form points to the pers. n. *Oxa* or *Oxi* (Rygh); for the second see *pveit* in W.L.

Parrocks. Orton par.

The dial. word 'parrock' is O.E. *pearroc*, 'enclosed land.' Compare Paddockwray, Cumb.

PATTERDALE. Vil. at head of Ullswater, 8½ m. N. of Ambleside.

Patricdale Inq. 1237.

'Patrick's dale'; cf. Preston Patrick, Westm., and Aspatria, Cumb.

PATTON. Par. 3½ m. N.E. of Kendal.

Patun D. Bk.

Pattun, *Pattyn*, early 12 c.
(F.W.R.).

Patton Inq. 1237; F. F.
1278.

Pattun Inq. 1294.

Patta and *Patto*, which are pers. ns. cited by Searle, may account for the first el.; the second is O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure.'

POOLEY BRIDGE. Vil. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Penrith, on river Eamont.

Pulhou Inq. 1257; Cl. R. 1285.

The second el. is O.E. *hōh* or O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.' The first may be a pers. n.

PRESTON PATRICK. Vil. $6\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. by E. of Kendal.

Prestun D. Bk.

Preston Patrik Cl. R. 1333.

Preston F. F. 1255; Cl. R.

1360.

Preston is from O.E. *prēosta*, gen. plur. of *prēost*, 'priest'; and O.E. or O.N. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.' Preston is a common pl. n. Patrick is from Patrick de Culwen.

Raddereth Side. Strickland Ketel.

The 1349 Cl. R. forms *Rotherheved*, *Ratherheved* seem to be the modern Raddereth. The first el. would thus be a pers. n. such as *Rodhere* (Searle) or *Rædhere* (Searle); the second would be 'head,' O.E. *hēafod*.

RAISEBECK. Hml. 2 m. E. of Orton.

Reysebeck F. F. 1288.

Raise- is O.N. *hröysi*, 'mound,' 'cairn'; the second el. is O.N. *bekkr*, 'stream.' We may compare Dunmail Raise, Cumb., and High Raise, a mtn. nr. Grasmere; also Stain-raise and Selsitraise, nr. Shap. The first el. has no connection with O.N. *rīsa*, 'to rise,' which Lindkv. suggests as an alternative to *hröysi*.

RAMPSON. Hml. nr. Stainmore.

This name is no doubt the same as Rampsholm, Cumb., *q.v.*

RAVENSTONEDALE. Vil. $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Kirkby Stephen.

Rauenstamdale F. F. 1223. *Ravenstandal* Ch. R. 1251.

Ravenstayndale F. F. 1291.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Hrafnsteinn*, cited by Lind; the second is O.N. *dalr*, O.E. *dæl*, 'valley.' The name Ravenstone occurs in Bucks.

(Crosby) **RAVENSWORTH.** Par. 6 m. S.W. of Appleby.

<i>Crossebiraueneswarth</i> F.F. 1202.	<i>Crosseby Ravenswart</i> Inq. 1314.
<i>Rauensward</i> F.F. 1301.	<i>Crosseby Raueneswarth,</i> F.F. 1325.

Ravensthorth is the pers. n. *Hrafnswartr*, meaning 'raven-black,' various forms of which are cited by Björkman from D. Bk. Florence of Worcester mentions a Danish huscarl of Earl Tostig named *Reavenswartus*. But possibly the name may mean 'Raven's beacon,' from the pers. n. *Hrafn* and O.N. *varða*.

RAYNE. Hml. nr. Orton.

See Rain House, Cumb.

RAYSIDE. Hml. 2½ m. W. of Shap.

<i>Rasate</i> , Shap foundation ch., c. 1199.	<i>Raset</i> , Entail of Rosgill 1343.
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The first el. is prob. a pers. n. The second is O.N. *sætr*, 'summer pasture.'

REAGILL. Vil. 2¼ m. N.W. of Crosby Ravensworth.

<i>Renesgill</i> Furness Register 1240.	<i>Refgill</i> Assize Roll 1271.
<i>Reingill</i> P. R. 1241.	<i>de Revegil</i> Charter of Wm. de Lancaster 1244.
<i>Reuegil</i> Levens MSS. 1259.	

The first el. is *Reven*, a form of *Raven*, O.N. *Hrafn*. Björkman, *sub voce* *Rafn*, cites the pl. ns. *Reuenesthorb* and *Reuesbi* from *Liber Vitae Eccl. Dunelm.* The name *Roland de Reingill* of P. R. appears as *Revegil* in a charter of Rob. de Veteriponte c. 1244, and this points conclusively to *Reven*.

RIDDING. See Glen Ridding.

Riddlesey. Soulby.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of the pers. n. *Hreðel*. Searle cites *Hredles sted* from a charter. The second is O.N. *ey*, 'island,' *q.v.* in W. L.

ROOF. See Hutton Roof.

ROOKBY. Hml. 2 m. N.E. of Kirkby Stephen.

Rokeby F. F. 1291; Inq. *Rukeby* F. F. 1340.
1314; Cl. R. 1331.

The first el. is the Scand. English pers. n. *Roc*, O.N. *Hrókr* (Björkman). The second is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

ROSGILL. Vil. in Shap par.

Rossegyl F. F. 1255. *Rosgill* F. F. 1382.

The first el. is prob. the gen. case of a pers. n. such as the O.N. *Róarr* or *Rói*. The second is O.N. *gil*, 'cleft,' 'ravine.' We may compare Rosthwaite, Cumb.

ROUNTHWAITE. Hml. 2 m. S.W. of Tebay.

<i>Rownerthwayt</i> Inq. 1294.	<i>Rounthwayt</i> Pat. R. 1338.
<i>Rownerthwayt</i> Cl. R. 1294.	<i>Rounnerthweyt</i> Cl. R.
<i>Rounesthwait</i> Lanc. Priv.	1345.
Deeds 1310.	<i>Rommerthwayt</i> Inq. 1344.
<i>Ronnestwate</i> Whitby ch.	<i>Rounthuayte</i> Inq. 1457.
1310.	

The first el. seems to be the pers. n. *Runhere*, of which Searle cites an instance from Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. Lindkvist suggests O.N. *raun*, 'mountain ash,' a word which occurs only in pl. ns., but this will not account for the early forms in *-es*, which point to a pers. n. We may compare Rowner, Hants. and Herts.

RYDAL. Vil. 1½ m. N.W. of Ambleside.

<i>Ridale</i> Inq. 1240.	<i>Ridal</i> Cl. R. 1291.
<i>Rydul</i> Inq. 1257.	<i>Ryddle</i> Test. K. 1361.

Falkman, *Ortn. i Sk.*, p. 81, cites the pl. n. *Ryedal*, and many other pl. ns. containing the el. *ryd*, derived from O.N. *rjóðr*, 'glen in a forest.' The second el. of Rydal is O.N. *dalr*, O.E. *dæl*, 'valley.'

Salterwath. Orton.

For Wath see *vaðr* in W.L. Compare Salter, Cumb.

Sampool Plain. Levens.

Sampool is for Sandpool, *i.e.*, 'sandy pool or cove.' The farm is situated just above where the Kent estuary ends, and all around is sand by the river. The name is locally interpreted as 'salmon pool.'

SANDFORD. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. N.W. of Warcop.

Sandford Inq. 1314. *Santeford* Inq. 1314.

Sampfard F. F. 1260.

A very common pl. n. meaning 'the sandy ford.'

SCALTHWAITERIGG. Par. 2 m. N.E. of New Hutton.

Scalthwaitrig Inq. 1237. *Schalqratic* Inq. 1240.

The first el. may be, as Lindkvist thinks, O.N. *skdli*, 'hut,' 'shed'; but it is quite as likely to be the pers. n. *Skalli* (Rygh). For the second el. see *pveit* in W.L. The terminal is O.N. *hryggr*, 'mountain ridge.' The whole name thus would mean 'the ridge called after the field Scalthwaite,' which name means either 'the field with the shed' or 'Skalli's field.'

SCATTERGATE. Hml. in Appleby borough.

Scober. Warcop.

From the O.N. pers. n. *Skógr* (Rygh) and O.E. *beorg*, 'hill,' 'tumulus.'

Scordale. Murton.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Skorri* (Rygh).

Scout Green. Orton.

Scout forms part of several pl. ns. in the N. of England, *e.g.*, Kinder Scout in Derbyshire. It means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a high rock or hill; a projecting ridge, a precipice.' It is O.N. *skúti*, 'jutting-out rock or cave underneath such rock.'

Scurry Gill. Stainmore.

Scurry is the O.N. pers. n. *Skorri* (Rygh).

SEDGWICK. Tnsh. in Heversham par.

Siggiswyk Inq. 1333 *Syggeswyke* F. F. 1419.
(C.W.N.S. xiv, 365).

The first el. is the gen. case of the O.N. pers. n. *Sigga* or *Siggi* (Lindkv.). The second is either O.N. *vík*, dial. 'wick,' 'wyke,' 'corner,' or else O.E. *wic*, 'dwelling,' 'village.'

SELSIDE. Vil. 4 m. N. of Kendal.

Selsate Inq. 1249. *Selsete* W. Reg. c. 1235; Cl. R. 1361.

Selside also occurs in Lancs. and W.R. Yorksh. Wyld takes the first el. to be a pers. n. and cites Björkman's mention of *Selua* from D. Bk., which Björkman considers to be identical with the O.W.N. *Sølf*, *Sølv*. Moorman cites a D. Bk. form *Selesat*, and thinks that the first el. is either O.N. *selja*, 'willow,' or the O.N. pers. n. *Seli*. On the whole, I am inclined to derive the name either from the O.N. *selsetr*, 'farm with a house on it,' from *sel*, 'house' (akin to O.E. *sæl*, *sele*), and *setr*, 'farmstead,' 'estate'; or else from the pers. n. *Seli* and *sætr*, 'mountain summer dairy,' like the *Sennerhütten* of Bavaria and N. Switzerland. We may compare Selsmire, Westm., the first el. of which is clearly the gen. case of a pers. n. Selsit Raise, a pl. nr. Shap, where there are remains of cairns, is apparently the same name as Selside in an earlier form.

SHAP. Tn. 12 m. S.E. of Penrith.

<i>de Heppa</i> Ind. Loc. c. 1220.	ch., c. 1199; Inq. 1290;
<i>Hep</i> F. F. 1231; Cl. R.	Cl. R. 1318, 1345.
1293.	<i>Heppa</i> Inq. 1314.
<i>Yhep</i> Ch. of Rob. de	<i>Shap</i> Cl. R. 1332, 1341.
Alneto 1241.	<i>Shapp</i> , Indenture of Thos.
<i>Hepp</i> Shap Foundation	de Culwen 1390.
<i>Sheppe</i> Cl. R. 1300.	

The early forms *Hepp*, *Hep*, are the same as in the early forms of Hipshow, *q.v.* They seem to represent a pers. n., probably *Heppo*, cited by Searle. The form *Yhep*¹ may be for *þhep* and point to an original beginning with *hþ*, i.e., to a Scand. pers. n. or word. We may thus conclude that the

1. If it is not due to an error in reading the MS.

forms Hep and Shap result from an early confusion in the name. Shap would be a normal development of *Hjap* (cf. Shetland from Hjalmland), but such a name does not seem to be recorded. In its original form the name had a terminal, which has been dropped; cf. Hoff and Levens. With the early forms *Hep*, *Hepp*, cf. the W.R. Yorksh. pl. ns. Heptonstall, Hepworth, which Moorman derives from O.E. *hēope*, 'wild rose,' 'briar.'

SHOREGILL. Hml. 5 m. S. of Kirkby Stephen.

Schoureschale Inq. 1240.

The first el. may be the same as in Sowerby, Cumb., early forms of which are *Scureby*, *Scoureby*, *Shoureyby*; see Sowerby; cf. also Temple Sowerby, Westm. The early form cited above does not enable us to decide with certainty whether the O.N. *gil*, 'ravine,' or O.N. *skáli*, 'hut on a mountain pasture,' is the original form, for in early documents these two words are sometimes confused.

SIZERGH. Fell-side, nr. Levens.

Sigredeshergh 12 c.
(F.W.R.).

Siresserwe Inq. 1245.
Syricherd Cl. R. 1324.

Schireserd Inq. 1341.

Apparently from the common pers. n. *Sigred* and O.N. *erg*, 'summer pasture.' The forms in *-erd* may be due to confusion with O.N. *jǫrð*, 'earth,' 'ground.'

SKELSMERGH. Par. 3 m. N.E. of Kendal.

Skelmereshergh F.F. 1278.

1356.

Skelmeresergh F.F. 1280.

Skelmesere Inq. 1341.

Skelmesergh Cl. R. 1349,

Skelmiser Cl. R. 1361.

The first el. is the same as in Skelmersdale, Lancs., which Wyld derives from the O.N. *skelmir*, 'devil.' Nielsen cites two O. Danish pers. ns., *Skelmir* and *Skjalmar*, either of which would account for the early forms of Skelsmergh. Moorman derives Skelmanthorpe, W.R. Yorksh., of which he cites the early forms *Scelmertorp* (D. Bk.), and *Skelmarthorpe*, from the pers. n. *Skjalmar*, and I think he is right. I am, therefore, in favour of deriving Skelsmergh from either

Skelmir or *Skjalmar*. The second el. is O.N. *erg*, 'mountain pasture,' a word derived from Gaelic; see W.L.

Skettlegill. Crosscrake.

Skettle is perhaps the O.N. pers. n. *Asketill* (Björkman).

Skygarth. Temple Sowerby.

The first el. is prob. the O.N. pers. n. *Skíði* (Rygh).

SLEAGILL. Vil. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Morland.

Selegile W. Reg. c. 1260 *Slegill* F. F. 1208.
and c. 1280. *Slegelle* Inq. 1245.

Slegil Inq. 1300; Cl. R. 1323.

See Sleathwaite, Cumb., for the first el. But the form *Selegile* seems to point to a pers. n. such as *Seli*. The second is O.N. *gil*, 'ravine,' 'narrow valley.'

SLEDDALE. Hml. 3 m. S.W. of Shap.

Sleddall Brunholf Levens *Sleddale* Inq. 1237; F. F.
MSS. c. 1260 (in Hist. 1241; Cl. R. 1361.
MSS. Com. Report).

The first el. may be O.N. *slétta*, 'flat ground' (Rygh), but I incline rather to seek its origin in some pers. n. Compare Sledmere, Yorksh. The second el. is O.N. *dalr*, or O.E. *dæl*, 'dale.'

SMARDALE. Tnsh. in Waitby par., 3 m. S.W. of Kirkby Stephen.

Smeredale F. F. 1202. *Smardale* alias *Smerdale*
Smerdale Cl. R. 1277. Inq. 1291.

The first el. at the first glance looks like O.N. *smjgr*, 'butter,' allied to O.E. *smeoru*, 'fat'; in which case the name might be taken to mean 'dale with butter-yielding pasture.' Butterworth, Lancs., is derived by Wyld from O.E. *butere*, 'butter,' and *word*, 'farm.' I am, however, inclined to see a pers. n. in most of the pl. ns., in which this el. occurs; see Butterwick. The first el. of Smardale may be the O.E. pers. n. *Smert* (Searle). We may perhaps compare Smerby in Kintyre.

SOCKBRIDGE. Tnsh. 2 m. S. of Penrith.

<i>Sockebroc</i> Charter of Hel-	<i>Sokebrede</i> Assize	Roll
wis de Lancaster c. 1189;	1278.	
see C.W.N.S. x, 431.	<i>Sokbred</i> F.F. 1320.	
<i>Sochebred</i> Inq. 1245.	<i>Sokebred</i> F.F. 1335.	
<i>Sockebred</i> Inq. 1249, 1310.		

We may compare Sockburn, Durh. The first el. may be O.E. *soc*, the evidence for which is the phrase *soces sead̥*, occurring in an O.E. charter, Gray Birch No. 691; see *soc* in W.L. But I prefer to derive it from the pers. n. *Soca* (Searle). The origin of the second el. is uncertain; it may be O.N. *barð*, 'precipitous edge.' The terminal of the 1189 form may be miswritten for *-brot*, the letter *t* and *c* being often confused by scribes.

Sockenber. Morland.

For the second el. cf. Whitber and Stockber, Westm.; it is prob. O.E. *beorg*, O.N. *berg*, 'mound,' 'tumulus.' The first we may perhaps derive from the gen. case of the pers. n. *Soca*; see preceding name.

SOULBY. Vil. 2 m. N.W. of Kirkby Stephen.

<i>Suleby</i> F.F. 1278.	1314; Cl. R. 1322.
<i>Souleby</i> F.F. 1293; Inq.	<i>Soulby</i> Cl. R. 1343.

See Soulby, Cumb.

SOUTHWAITE. Hml. 3½ m. S. of Kirkby Stephen.

Sourthwayt Cl. R. 1360.

The first el. may be O.N. *saurr*, *q.v.*, in W.L. See Sowerby, Cumb. The second is O.N. *þveit*, 'clearing,' 'piece of land.'

SOWERBY. See Temple Sowerby.**Sowermire.** Middleton (civil) par.

From O.N. *saurr*, *q.v.* in W.L. and O.N. *mýrr*, for which see W.L.

Spital Farm. New Hutton.

See Temple Sowerby. Spital is a short form of 'hospital.'

Sproat Gill. Orton.

From the pers. n. *Sprot* (Searle).

STAINMORE. Par. 3 m. S.E. of Brough.

Steynmor Pat. R. 1281. *Staynesmor* Inq. 1314.
Staynesmore Cl. R. 1325.

In a Pictish Chronicle, compiled about 1000 A.D. (MS. of fourteenth cent.) the entry occurs, anno c. 980, "Scotti predaverunt Saxoniam ad *Stanmoir*." The first el. is probably O.N. *steinn*, 'stone,' which occurs in many pl. ns., and is no doubt often confused with the pers. n. *Steinn*. The second el. is 'moor,' O.E., O.N. *mōr*.

STANTON. Vil. 4 m. S. of Kendal.

Steintun D. Bk. *Stainton* Inq. 1282.

A very common pl. n. The first el. is probably the pers. n. *Steinn*; but see preceding name. The second el. is O.N., O.E. *tūn*, 'enclosure,' 'field.'

Stangerthwaite. Killington.

Stanger is an old family name, especially in the Keswick district. See Stanger, Cumb.

STAVELEY. Vil. 4 m. N.W. of Kendal.

Staveleye Inq. 1240. *Stavelay Godmond* Cl. R. 1349.
Staneley Godmond F.F. 1383.

Moorman derives Staveley, W.R. Yorksh., from O.E. *stæf*, 'post,' and O.E. *lēah*, and interprets the name as 'the meadow by the post.' I can suggest no other origin. The form *Staneley* is doubtless a misspelling.

STENNERSKEUGH. Hml. 2 m. S.E. of Ravenstonedale.

The first el. is one of the pers. ns. *Stegenheard* (Searle), *Steinarr* (Rygh), *Staner* (Björkman). The second el. is O.N. *skógr*, 'wood,' 'forest.'

Stockber. Soulby.

For the second el cf. Sockenber and Whitber, Westm.

STORTH. Hml. nr. Arnside.

Storthes Cl. R. 1349.

This is perhaps O.N. *storð*, 'wood,' but this word does not seem to have been used in pl. ns. It is not given by Rygh.

Several places in Cumb. and Westm. called Storrs seem to be for Storthes. We may compare *Stordac*, Peramb. For. Lanc. 1228 (Farrer, Lanc. Chart 421, 422); also Stords near Calder.

STRICKLAND. Various places of this name. (1) Tnsh. 3 m. N.W. of Shap; (2) Strickland Ketel and Strickland Rogers, pars. 3 m. N.W. of Kendal.

Stercaland D. Bk.

Styrkelaund Ketel Cl. R.

Stirkland F. F. 1209.

1296.

Stirkeland Ketel Inq. 1287;

Stirlandrandolf Cl. R.

Cl. R. 1287.

1349.

The first el. of Strickland may be the pers. n. *Stric*, *Strica*, *Stricca* (Searle), or else *Styrcol*, *Stircol* found on O.E. coins (Björkman). The second el. is O.E. *land*, or perhaps O.N. *lundr*, 'small wood.'

Strickley. New Hutton.

See preceding name.

SUNBIGGIN. Hml. 3 m. E. of Orton.

Sunnebygging F. F. 1291.

The first el. is probably a pers. n., such as *Suno*, or *Sun*, which occurs as a prefix in *Sunwine*, *Sunulf* (Searle), or *Sungifu*, or *Suni* (Nielsen). The second el. is O.N. *bygging*, 'farmstead.' See Sunnygill, Cumb.

SWINDALE. Hml. in Shap parish.

Swindale Shap foundation Ch. c. 1199.

The first el. is one of the pers. ns. *Swiðhun* (the modern Swithin) or *Sveinn*; see Swinsty, and Swinside, Cumb. The second el. is O.N. *dalr* or O.E. *dæl*, 'dale.'

TAILBERT. Hml. 2 m. W. of Shap.

Thannellbord Lowther
MSS. 1339 (C.W.N.S.
xiv, 23).

Taylleborth Shap Deeds
1357 ibidem.

Taleburgh Grant of James
I, 1612 (N. and B. i,
474).

Thamboord (for *Thain-
boord* accord. to F. W.
Ragg), Ch. of Thomas
f. Gospatric who died
1152 (N. and B. i, 470,
471).

The first el. of this name is a pers. n., perhaps *ðegnwulf* (Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*). The second el. may be O.N. *barð*, 'edge of a plateau or field.'

TEBAY. Vil. $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. of Shap.

de Tibbeie P. R. 1222.

Tybay F. F. 1223; Inq.

1294, 1314.

Thyby F. F. 1291.

Thebeye F. F. 1291.

Tybbeye Cl. R. 1294.

Tybeye Cl. R. 1345.

Tibbay Inq. 1314; Test. K.

1373.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Tiba*, *Tibba* (Searle); cf. *Tibthorpe*, E. R. Yorksh., and *Tibshelf*, Derbysh. The second is O.N. *ey* or O.E. *ēg*, 'island,' or elevated piece of ground in a marsh, etc. This explanation is supported by the fact that *Tebay* is called *aqua* in some early documents.

TEMPLE SOWERBY. Vil. 7 m. N.W. of Appleby.

Saureby W. Reg. c. 1225.

Soureby W. Reg. 1275;

Inq. 1314; Cl. R. 1340;

Inq. 1329.

See *Sowerby*, Cumb. The Knights Templars appear to have held property here, as is shown by the farm named *Spital* which lies at a short distance.

THORE (Kirkby). See *Kirkby*.

Thorney Gale. *Stainmore*.

Thorney is perh. the O.N. woman's name *þorný*; for *Gale* see *geil* in W. L.; also *Hugill*, Westm.

Thorneyscale. *Brough*.

For first el. see preceding name; for *-scale* see *skáli* in W. L.

THORNSHIP. Hml. $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.S.W. of Shap.

Fornhep F. F. 1226, 1231.

The first el. is O.N. *for*n, 'old'; the second seems to be identical with *Shap*, *q.v.* The name will thus mean 'old *Shap*,' i.e., 'the older farm called after a person named *Heppo*.' N. and B., i, 474, quoting a deed of 9 James I, write *Thornshap*pe.

Thrang. *Langdale*.

Thrang Craig. Martindale.

Thrang may represent O.N. *þrængr*, 'tight,' 'narrow,' used as a pers. n.

THRIMBY. Vil. 3 m. N. of Shap.

Tirneby F. F. 1200. *Thrinneby* W. Reg. c.

Tyrneby P. R. 1238. 1255.

Thirneby F. F. 1241; Inq. *Thurneby* F. F. 1278.
1244, 1293.

The first el. is probably a pers. n. The O.N. *þórunn*, or else O.E. *þurwine*, would account for *Thurneby*, but not satisfactorily for *Thirneby*, from which the modern form descends, with metathesis of *r* and assimilation of *n* to *m* before *b*. Collingwood, Scand. Brit., p. 212, suggests *tjarna*, gen. pl. of *tjörn*, 'tarn,' but this I consider unlikely. The second el. is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.' See Thornby, Cumb.

Tils Hole. Long Sleddale par.

TIRRIL. Vil. 3 m. S.S.W. of Penrith on the Roman Road, or 'High Street.'

Tyrerhge c. 1189; *Tyreher* *Tyrergh* P. R. 1238; F. F.
1279; *Thererg* 1310; 1278.

Tirergh 1318; *Tyrell*
1463 (all from charters
printed in F. W. Ragg's
papers on 'de Lancas-
ter,' C.W.N.S. x.).

The first el. is the pers. n. *Terri* or *Tirri*, a form of the O.E. *þeodric* or *þeodred*; see Bardsley, p. 742. The second is O.N. *erg*, 'hill pasture.' The name seems to have become confused with the pers. n. *Tirrell*, a late form of *þuroid*.

Toddygill. Musgrave par.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Toddi* (Rygh).

TOWCETT. Hml. 2½ m. N.E. of Shap.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Tol*, *Tola* (Searle), or else the Dan. *Towa*, *Towi* cited by Nielsen. The second is either O.E. *hæafod*, 'head,' 'highest point,' or O.N. *setr*, 'farm-

stead'; or else O.N. *sætr*, 'mountain dairy.' Early forms would thus be **Tolsheved*, **Towsheved*, or **Tolsete*, **Towsete*. We may compare *Touleston*, a Westm. pl. n. in F. F. 1208.

TROUTBECK. Vil. 4 m. S. by E. of Ambleside.

Trutebeck Inq. 1262. *Troutbek* Inq. 1300.

See Troutbeck, Cumb.

TRUSS GAP. Shap.

Truss may represent the gen. case of the pers. n. *Thor*, by metathesis of *r*.

TURNBANK. Crosby Ravensworth.

Turn- prob. stands for the pers. n. *þurwine*.

ULPHA. Tnsh. in Witherslack.

See Ulpha, Cumb.

ULTHWAITE. Hml. nr. Ings.

Uluethewayt Lanc. Final Concords 1301.

The same word as Outhwaite, Lancs. and Cumb. The first el. is the common pers. n. *Ulf*; for the second see *þveit* in W.L.

UPMAN HOW. Stainmore.

See Upmanby, Cumb. How is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'cairn.'

WADS HOW. Long Sleddale.

Wads is the gen. case of the pers. n. *Wada*. How is O.N. *haugr*, 'mound,' 'cairn.' Compare Wadcrag, Cumb.

WAITBY. Par. 1½ m. of Kirkby Stephen.

de Wateby W. Reg. c. 1180. *Wateby* P. R. 1238; Cl. R. 1274; Inq. 1295.

Watteby F. F. 1256.

The first el. is probably the pers. n. *Wata*, *Wato* (Searle). Compare Waitefield, Cumb. The second is O.N. *býr*, 'farm.'

WALLHOLM. Vil. in Ullswater.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Wealh*; the second is O.N. *hólmr*, *q.v.* in W.L.

Walmgate. Bampton.

Walm- is perhaps a pers. n., either *Wealhhelm* or *Wealthman* (Searle). We may compare Walmsgate, Lincs., and Walmgate in York. For -gate see *gata* in W.L.

WANDALE. Hml. nr. Ravenstonedale.

Wamewydale Inq. 1257.

WARCOP. Vil. on the Eden, 5 m. S.E. of Appleby.

Warthecop F.F. 1201; *Wardecoup* F.F. 1255.

Cl. R. 1288.

Wardecop Pat. R. 1225;

Warthecopp Cl. R. 1300.

F.F. 1246; Ch. R. 1247.

Warthecopland Cl. R.

1349.

The first el. is possibly O.N. *varða*, 'beacon.' Or it may be *Weard-*, which is an el. of O.E. pers. ns. The second el. is perhaps an abbreviation of *couppland*, for which see Copeland Forest, Cumb. But it may be 'cop,' a dialect word meaning 'hill,' 'knoll'; cf. Warthole, Cumb. The 1349 form given above would thus mean simply 'agricultural land belonging to Warcop.' 'Cop' occurs frequently in Shetland pl. ns., accord. to Jakobsen.

Warth. Preston Patrick.

This may be O.N. *varða*, 'beacon,' 'monument.'

Waskew Head. Tebay.

-Skew is O.N. *skógr*, 'wood.'

Watercrook. Natland.

Crook is O.N. *krókr*, 'crook,' 'bend' used especially of a winding water channel, cf. the farm name Linecrook, Cumb.

WEASDALE. Hml. nr. Ravenstonedale.

Wetheriggs. Brougham.

The first el. may be the pers. n. *Wither* (Searle), or O.N. *veðr*, 'wether,' 'sheep,' used as a pers. n.

WHALE. Hml. nr. Lowther.

Qwalle Inq. 1244.

Qwale Cl. R. 1345.

Quale Cl. R. 1370.

This name may be from O.N. *hváll*, 'isolated rounded hill'

or knoll' (Rygh). This word, accord. to Wyld, is the origin of the first el. of Whalley, Lancs., and it may further occur in Whaley, Chesh. and Derbysh., and Whallo, Cumb. But all these names I am inclined to derive from the Scand pers. n. *Hvalr* (Rygh).

WHARTON. Tnsh. 2 m. S. of Kirkby Stephen.

Werfton F. F. 1202.

Querston F. F. 1259.

Querton P. R. 1238; Cl. R.

Warton Cl. R. 1324.

1331; F. F. 1290; Inq.

1314.

This name occurs also in Chesh. and Lincs. The first el. may be O.N. *hvarf*, or its derivative *hverfi*, to which Rygh gives the meaning 'corner,' 'crooked piece of land in a field.' But it may possibly be a pers. n. Compare Kirkby Wharf, Yorksh. For the second el. see *tūn* in W.L.

Whasdyke. Hugill (Ings) par.

See next name.

WHASSET. Hml. 1½ m. N.E. of Beetham.

Quasheved Inq. 1244.

The first el. is probably the gen. case of a pers. n., such as *Hvatr* (Rygh), or *Hwæt*, found in several pers. ns. *e.g.*, *Hwætmod*, *Hwætred* (Searle). The second el. is O.E. *hēafod*, 'head,' 'highest point,' 'hill.' Several pl. ns. begin with *What-*, as *Whatcroft*, Chesh., *Whatfield*, Suff.

WHINFELL. Par. 5 m. N.E. of Kendal.

Winfel W. Reg. 1230-41.

Whynefel Coram Rege R.
1258 (W. Reg.).

See Whinfell, Cumb.

Whin Howe. Orton.

See Whinnow, Cumb.

Whitber. Crosby Ravensworth.

Whitebergh F. F. 1241.

Withbergh Cl. R. 1355.

The first el. is the pers. n. *Hwita*; for the second see Sockber.

Whygill. Asby.

The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *Hwita*.

WICKERSGILL. Hml. nr. Shap.

The first el. is a pers. n. in the gen. case, such as *Wighere*, *Wichere*, or *Wigheard*. The second el. is O.N. *gil*, 'ravine.' See Wickerthwaite, Cumb.

WICKERSLACK. Hml. nr. Crosby Ravensworth.

Wicksclak Inq. 1244. *Wickerslak* 1278 (F.W.R.)

The first el. may be the same as that suggested for Wickersgill, *q.v.* The second el. is O.N. *slakki*, cited by Vigfússon as meaning 'slope on a mountain edge'; for note on *slakki* see Wyld, *Lancs.*, Pl. Ns., pp. 384, 385. *Slack* occurs in several *Lancs.* pl. ns. As a dialect word *slack* means 'a hollow, especially one in a hillside; a dip in the surface of the ground; a shallow dell, a glade; a pass between hills,' E.D.D.

WINDERMERE.

Wynendamere Inq. 1240.

Wynandremere Inq. 1299.

Winandirmer Inq. 1249.

Wynandermere Cl. R.

Wynandermer Inq. 1262.

1354.

The first el., according to Wyld, *L. Pl. Ns.*, p. 266, appears to be a pers. n. with the O.N. genitive ending *-ar*. Wyld notes that though the O.N. **Vignandr* does not seem to be recorded, its exact O.E. equivalent *Wignōð* occurs several times (Searle). The second el. is O.E. *mere*, 'lake,' 'pool,' 'sheet of water.'

(Asby) **WINDERWATH.** Hml. 2½ m. W. of Crosby Ravensworth.

Wynderwe Inq. 1245.

Wynandrewath F.F. 1340.

Wynanderwath Inq. 1314; Cl. R. 1345.

This is also the name of a farm in Cumb. For the first el. see Windermere. The second is O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford.'

WINSTER. Vil. 3 m. S.E. of Bowness-on-Windermere, on the Winster.

Winstirthwaytes Inq. 1249.

Winster is also the name of a small town in Derbysh.

WITHERSLACK. Vil. 7 m. S.W. of Kendal.

<i>Witherslak</i> Inq. 1249.	<i>Witherslake</i> Ch. R. 1267.
<i>Wythereslak</i> F. F. 1255.	<i>Wythirslack</i> Cl. R. 1291.
<i>Werrslak</i> Inq. 1257.	<i>Wytherslak</i> Cl. R. 1347.

The first el is pers. n. *Wiðer* (Searle). Compare Withersdale, Withersfield, Suff., and Withersden, Kent.

YANWATH. Tnsh. in Barton par.

<i>Ywaneworth</i> P. R. 1226.	<i>Yavenwithe</i> Inq. 1314.
<i>Yavenwith</i> F. F. 1241.	<i>Yanewith</i> Cl. R. 1323;
<i>Yavenwyth</i> Inq. 1293.	Test. K. 1368.
<i>Yanenwyt</i> Inq. 1306.	<i>Yhanewyth</i> Test. K. 1362.

The first el. may be the gen. case of the pers. n. *Eafa* (Searle); the second el. of the early forms is apparently O.N. *viðr*, 'wood,' substituted for O.N. *vaðr*, 'ford,' which is frequently incorrectly spelt in pl. ns. The ford over the Eamont at Yanwath has always been an important one. The Roman Road, High Street, passed here.

WORD LISTS.

CONTAINING

ELEMENTS OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND PLACE NAMES.

NOTE.—An asterisk after a pl. n. denotes that the word or pers. n. under which the name is entered is probably the origin of the name or of one of its elements. A note of interrogation denotes that there is considerable doubt as to whether the word (or pers. n.) is the origin of the pl. n. or of its element. In many cases where two or more words (or pers. ns.) may be suggested as the origin of a given pl. n., or element, these latter are entered under each of the words (pers. ns.) and a note of interrogation suffixed. Where a pl. n. is not followed by an asterisk or a note of interrogation, this indicates that in the author's opinion the derivation given is certain or practically certain.

(F) = Name of farm. C. = Cumberland. W. = Westmorland.

A. NAMES OF PERSONS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Acca Ackenthwaite* W. | Asgeirr, Asgar Askerton C. |
| Ægenhere, Egnere Ennerdale ? C. | Asketill Skettle Gill* W. |
| Ægenwulf Ainstable ? C. | Aski , see Æsc . |
| Ægteard Etterby* C. | Baggi, Bacga Baggrow ? C. |
| Ælfhere Allerdale ? C. | Baldvaldr Bewaldeth ? C. |
| Ælfred Allerdale ? C. | Bana Bampton ? C., W. |
| Ælfwine, Alwine Allonby ? C., Ellonby ? C. | Beagmund Beaumont C., Bampton ? C., W. |
| Æmele Embleton ? C. | Beagwulf Bolton ? C., W. |
| Æsc, Aski Ashness (F) C., Asby C. W., Askham W. | Beahstan Bassenthwaite ? C. |
| Æpelweard Allerby* C., Allerdale ? C. | Bega, Begu, Begha St. Bees C. |
| Ald- Alby ? C. | Beorhthere Brigsteer* (F) W., Burtorgill ? (F) W. |
| Aldwine Alston C. | Beorhtwine Brightenflat ? (F) C. |
| Amal- Ambleside W. | Beorn-, Bjorn- Brinns ? (F) W., Barnskew (F) W. |
| Andres Kirk Andrews C. | Beornstan Bassenthwaite ? C. |
| Arageirr Angerton C., Angerholme (F) W. | Beriga Berrier ? C. |
| Arnulf Arnaby* (F) C., Arnside W. | Blæingr Blencarn ? C., Blencow ? C. |
| Arketell, Arkil Arkleby C., Artlegarth (F) W. | Blakkr, Blakki Blackhall C., Blackwell ? C. |

- Bolli, Bolla** Bowness* C., W., Bow-
 scale C., Bowber Head* (F) W.,
 Bowland Bridge ? W.
Bonda Bomby W.
Borgarr Borrowdale ? W.
Böta Bootle* C.
Bötolfir Bootle ? C., Buttle ? (F) W.
Botwulf, see **Botolfir**.
Bracca Brackenbarrow ? (F) C., Brac-
 kenthwaite ? C., Brackenber ? W.
Brada Bradley ? C.
Bram Bramery ? (F) C.
Brandr Brampton* C., W., Bramery ?
 (F) C.
Brigða Bridekirk C., Kirkbride C.
Broca, Broc Broughton C., Broxty (F)
 W.
Brocwulf Brocklebank C., Brocklewath
 (F) C.
Brunn, Bruni Brunstock ? C., Brom-
 field* C., Brundrigg (F) W., Brown-
 rigg ? C.
Brunwulf Burnside, W., Brownelson
 (F) C.
Buca, Bucca Buckabank ? C.
Bueth ? Bewcastle ? C.
Burghard Botcherby C., Botchergate
 C.
Burpegn Burthinghurst ? (F) C.
Geolred Cherryholm* W.
Geolöryð Holme Cultram ? C.
Geolwine Killington ? W.
Geenbeorht Cummersdale ? C.
Geolga Culgaith ? C.
Gota, Gotta Cotehill ? C., Coatsforth ?
 W.
Groc, see **Krokr**.
Gulfre Couderton ? C.
Gumbra Cummersdale* C.
Gylla Killington ? W.
Gynebeorht Cummersdale ? C.
Gynemund Kinmont* (F) C.
Dall, Dall Dalston* C.; Dalton ? W.,
Dene Denton* C.
Deor Dearham* C., Deerslet ? (F) W.
Deorling, Derling Darling How (F) C.
***Discegn** Distington* C.
Docca Dockray* C., Docker* W.
Dolfin Dovenby C.
Dryga Drybeck ? W., Drybarrows*
 (F) W.; Dry How* (F) W.
Dudh Dowthwaite* C.
Eadbeald Applethwaite ? C., W.; Ap-
 pleby* W.
Eadhære Edderside C.
Eafa Yanwath ? W.
Ealdwine, see **Aldwine**.
Ealhære Aughertree ? C.
Eamund Yamondside ? C., Eamont
 Bridge ? C.
Earn- Yearngill ? (F) C.
Earnwulf, see **Arnulf**.
Egill Eaglesfield C.
Einarr Ennerdale ? C., Annaside C.
Einulf Ainstable ? C.
***Elfr** Elf Hall ? (F) C., Elva ? (F) C.
Engli, Engill Inglewood Forest ? C.
Eofor Yeorton* C.
Eormen- Armaside* C., Armathwaite*
 C., Armboth* (F), Armon House ?
 (F) C.
Eowine Ewanrigg ? C.
Esa Easby ? C.
Færweald Farlam ? C.; Farleton ? W.
Færwulf Farlam ? C.; Farleton ? W.
Fag Fawcett Forest ? W.
Falk Fawcett ? W.
Flak Flake How (F) W.
Fleming Flimby C., Fleming Hall (F)
 C.
Friasa Frizington C.
Gamal Gamblesby C.
Gettir, Getti Gatesgill C., Gasgarth ?
 (F) C.; Gaisgill ? W.
Gerhard Garrigill C.; (Crosby) Gar-
 rett W.

- Gjalhere** Gillerbeck ? (F) C.
Gjal, **Gjall** Gileland* C.
***Glassam** Glasson* C., Glassonby C.
Godweald Goodle Hill ? (F) W.
Godwulf Goodle Hill ? (F) W.
Gos- Gosforth ? C.
***Grar** Grayrigg ? W., Greystoke ? C.
Grimketill Crindledyke (F) C.
Grimr Grinsdale ? C.
Griss Grasmere ? W., Griseburn* (F) W., Grisdale W.
Gull Gullom Holme* W.
Gunnar Gunnerkeld W., Gunnerwell (F) W.
Gunni Gunshole (F) C.
Guðbeorht Gubbergill (F) C.
Guðheard Gutterby C., Gutherscale ? (F) C.
Guðriðr Gutherscale ? (F) C.
Guðweald Goodle Hill ? (F) W.
Hadwine Addingham ? C.
Hafrið Harrington ? C., Haverigg ? C., Haverbrack ? W.
Hæðred Hethersgill* C., Heathery Fauld ? (F) C.
Haki, **Hakr** Hackthorpe W.
Hakon Ackenthwaite ? W.
Hani Hincaster ? W.
Hasteinn Alstonby C.
Haukr, **Hafoc** Hawkdale C.
Heahfrið Harrington ? C., Haverigg ? C., Haverbrack ? W.
Heardwine Hardendale W.
Hedda Head's Nook* C.
Heggr Hegdale* W.
Helgi Helbeck* W., Helton* W.
Helsingr Helsington W.
Heort, *see* **Hjortr**.
Heppo Hipshaw (F) W., Shap ? W.
Heremund Hermons Hall* (F) C.
Hefinn Hincaster ? W.
Hjalti Haltcliffe ? C.
Hjortr Harker* C., Hartlow (F) C., Hartley W., Hartsop W.
Hleowine Linstock ? C.
Hoc Houghton C.
Hoda Hutton ? C., Hodbarrow (F) C.
Holmr Holmescales* W.
Horn Hornsbarrow (F) W.
Horðr Haresceugh ? C.
Hrafn, **Ravn** Rampsholm ? C., Renwick C., Rampson ? W., Ravenstone-dale W., (Crosby) Ravensworth W.
Hrafnketill Ravenglass* C.
Hrafnsteinn Ravenstonedale W.
Hrafnsvatr Crosby Ravensworth ? W.
Hraði Raby Cote ? (F) C.
Hreðel Riddlesay* (F) W.
Hroald, **Bold** Roulholme ? C., Rowel-ton* C.
Hrokr, **Roc** Roughton ? (F) C., Holm-rook* C., Rookby W.
Hrolf (Hutton) Roof W., Rowrah ? C.
Hroðheard Rotherhope ? (F) C., Rothersike ? (F) C.
Hroðweard Same names as in preceding.
Hroðwine Rottington ? C.
Huda, **Hudda**, **Hudbeck*** (F) C., Hudscapes* (F) C.
***Hukmaðr**, ***Hukman** Upmanby* (F) C.
Hun Unthank* C., Hunley ? (F) C.
Hund Hunday ? (F) C., Hundith Hall* (F) C., Hundhow (F) W.
Hunsveinn Hunsonby C.
Hunwulf Hunley ? (F) C.
Husa, **Hussa** House Holm ? C., Uzna-cre ? (F) C.
Hvalr Whallo* (F) C., Whale* W.
Hwelp Wheelbarrow Hall* C.; Whel-po C.
Hwita Whitbeck ? C., Whitrigg ? C., Whitber* (F) W., Whygill ? (F) W.
Iofurr, *see* **Æfor**.
Ira Ireby C.

- Iai** Isell C.
Johan Johnby C.
Kagi, Kazi Kaber ? W.
Kalfr Calvo C., Calva (F) W.,
 Calthwaite* C.
Kall Calebrack ? (F) C.
Karli Carleton C.
Kefsir Keisley W.
Ketill, Ketel Keckle Head* (F) C.,
 Kettle (F) C., Kellbarrow* (F) C.,
 Keld House ? (F) C., Kelswick
 House ? (F) C., Kelsick ? C., Kelton ?
 C., Strickland Ketel W.
Kinaör Kenniside* C., Kingside ? C.
Koll, Kol Colby W.
Korekr Corby* C.
***Korni** Corney ? C.
***Krabbi** Crabstack* W.
Kraka, Krakr Cracrop ? (F) C., Craik-
 how Hall ? (F) C., Crackenthorp* W.,
 Crosscrake* W., Cracow (F) W.
Krokr, Oroc Crookhurst* (F) C.,
 Crookwath* (F) C., Crook ? W.,
 Crosthwaite ? W.
Laghi, Lagi Loweswater* C.
Lambi, Lamba Lamplugh* C., Lam-
 brigg W.
***Langbein** Lamonby C.
Leodhere Ledder Howe (F) W.
Leofhere Laversdale C.
Leofman Lemon Nook* (F) C.
Leofwine Kirklington ? C., Levy Holme
 (F) C., Levens W.
Laysingi Lazonby C.
Ligulf Holme Lion* (F) W.
Lind Linstock ? C.
Loc Lockholme W.
Luba, Lubba, Lupton* W.
***Lyng-** Linglow ? (F) W.
Mæðhere Matterdale* C.
Malfrið Mallerstang ? W.
Man Mansergh W.
Martin Martindale W.
Mæphild, Matild Maulds (Meaburn) W.
Maurice Moreesby C.
Mere- Mardale Green ? W., Marton ?
 W.
Modhere Motherby ? C.
Modred Motherby ? C.
Mor Murton ? C., W., Moorthwaite ?
 C., Murthwaite ? W.
Mundgerör Mungrisdale ? C.
Murdoch Setmurthy ? C.
Næör Naworth ? C.
***Nata** Nateby W., Natland W.
Oca, Occa, Ocker ? (F) C.
Odwine Oddendale* W.
Offa Hoff* W.
Ona Onset ? (F) C.
Ord- Orthwaite ? C., Orton ? C.
Ordwine Oddendale ? W.
Orm Ormside W.
Oswald Birdoswald C., Kirkoswald C.
Oswig, Oswiu Oxhouse (Oaks) ? C.
Out- Outhgill ? W.
***Oxa** Oxenholme ? W., Oxenthwaite*
 W.
Papa, Pappa, Papcastle ? C.
Patric Aspatria C.; Patterdale W.,
 (Preston) Patrick W.
Patta Patton* W.
Pearla Parton ? C., Portinscale ? C.
Penda, Pend- Penton ? C.
Pica Pica* C.
Pippen Whole Pippen ? (F) C.
Plegmund Plumland ? C., Plumpton ?
 C.
Ræðhere Ræddereth Side ? (F) W.
Rædmund, Rædman Redmain* C.
Rædwine Red Wing* (F) C.
Randulf Randal Holme (F) C., Ran-
 dalinton (F) C., Randylands ? (F) C.
Randi Randylands ? (F) C.
Ravn, see Hræfn.
Regenhere Rannerdale ? (F) C.
Regenwig (Newton) Reigny ? C.

- Reven** Reagill W. See **Hrafn**.
Ricard Rickerby C.
Roarr, Roi Rosley ? C., Rosthwaite ? C., Rosgill ? W.
Roc, see **Hrokr**.
Rodbeorht, Robert Robberby C.
Rodhere Raddereth Side ? (F) W.
Rolf, see **Hrofl**.
Rugh, Ruga Ruckcroft ? C., Rough-ton ? C., Ruthwaite ? C., Rougholme ? (F) C., Rought Hill ? (F) C.
***Runhere** Roundthwaite* W.
Sæburh Sebergham ? C.
Sandr Santon ? C.
Scot Scotby C.
Scineborht Skinburness ? C.
***Scineburh** Skinburness ? C.
Scula, Scule Shoulthwaite* C.
Selafríð Silverside* (F) C.
Seli Selker ? C., Sellafield ? C., Silecroft ? C., Selside* W., Selsmire* (F) W.
Sica Sikeside ? C.
Sida Siddick ? C.
Sigga, Siggi Sedgwick* W.
Sigred Sizergh W.
Skalli Scalthwaiterigg ? W.
Skelmir Skelsmergh ? W.
Skíði Skydes* (F) C.; Skygarth* (F) W.
Skjaldvor Skalderskew* C.; Skellerah ? (F) C.
Skjalmar Skelsmergh ? W.
Skjoldr Skelton ? C.
Skogr Scober (F) W., Scogill ? (F) C.
Skopti Shopford ? C.
Skorri Shoregill* W., Scordale* (F) W., Scurry Gill (F) W.
Slag Sleathwaite* (F) C.
Smart Smardale* W.
Soca Sockbridge* W.
Soli, Solli Solport ? C.
Spearhafoc Sparket C.
Sprot Sproat Gill (F) W.
Stegenbeorn Stainburn ? C.
Steinn Stainburn ? C., Stainton* C.
Steinnarr Stennerskeugh* W.
Steingeirr Stanger ? C., Stangerthwaite (F) W.
Stircol Strickland ? W.
Stric, Strica Strickland ? W., Strickle ? (F) W.
Suno, Sun- Sunbiggin* W.
Svartr Swarthgill* (F) C.
Svelnn Swainsteads (F) C., Swinside ? C., Swindale ? W.
Swíðhun Swindale ? W.; Swinside ? C., Swinsty ? C.
Tiba, Tibba Tebay* W.
Toddi Toddy Gill (F) W.
Tol, Tola Towcett ? W.
Torhtgyð Tortie ? (F) C.
Torhtred Tottergill ? (F) C.
Torhthmð Tortie ? (F) C.
Torhtthere Tottergill ? (F) C.
Þegnulf Tailbert ? W.
Þeodmund Temon* (F) C.
Þeodred, Þeodric Tirril ? W.
Þeodwulf Toddles* (F) C.
Þlostolfr Thisleton* (F) C.
Þorir (Kirkby) Thore* W., Thursby C.
Þorfinn Torpenhow* C.
Þorny Thornithwaite ? C., Thorney Gale* (F) W., Thorneyscale* (F) W.
Þorstelnn Thurstonfield C.
Þorunn Thornby ? C., Thornthwaite ? C., Thornthwaite ? W., Thrimby ? W.
Þurwine Same names as under preceding, also Turnberry ? (F) C.
Uda, Udd Udford* (F) C.
Uhtred Oughterby C., Oughterside C., Outerside C.
Ulf Oulton C., Ousby C., Outhwaite (F) C., Ullgill (F) C., Uldale C., Ulpha C., Ulpha W., Ulthwaite W.
Ulfbeorht Upperby ? C.

Ulfar, *see* **Wulfhere**.

Vall Walby ? C., Walton ? C.

Wada Wads How (F) W., Wad Crag (F) C.

Warmund Wormanby ? (F) C.

Wærin Warnell ? C.

Wærna Warnell ? C.

Wande Wanthwaite ? C.

Wata Waitefield* (F) C., Waitby* W.

Wealh, Walh Walby* C., Walton* C., Wallowbarrow (F) C.; Wallholm* W.

Wealhhelm Walmgate ? (F) W.

Wealhman Walmgate ? (F) W.

Weard Warwick* C., Wardwarrow* (F) C.

Wedd Weddiker ? C., Wedholme (F) C.

Wedwine Weddingshaw* (F) C.

Welburh Wheelbarrow Hall ? C.

Wenda Winscales ? C., Winskill ? C.

***Weder** Watermillock ? C., Wetheral ? C., Wetheriggs* (F) W.

Wig, Wiga Wiggonby* C., Wigton C.

Wighan Wiggonby ? C.

Wigheard Wickersgill ? W., Wickerslack ? W., Wickerthwaite ? (F) C.

Wighere, Wichere Wickersgill ? W., Wickerslack ? W., Wickerthwaite ? (F) C.

***Vignandr** Windermere ? W., Winderwath ? W.

Will- Wilton ? C.

Windig Winscales ? C., Winskill ? C.

Wine- Winscales ? C., Winskill ? C.

Wið- Wythburn ? C., Wythop ? C.

Wiðer Witheralack W.

Wulf Wolsty* C.; *see also* **Ulf**.

Wulfhere Ullermire (F) C.

Wulfulf Ullock ? C.

Wulfweald Ullock ? C.

B. OTHER WORDS,*

O.E. = Old English; O.N. = Old Norse; O.F. = Old French; M.E. = Middle Eng.

æc, *see* **eik**.

æcer O.E., **akr** O.N. 'field.' Uzzacre ? (F) C., Weddiker ? C.; Dilicar ? W.

æppel O.E., **apaldr** O.N. 'apple (tree).' Applethwaite ? C., W.

æsc O.E., **askr** O.N. 'ash (tree).'

Aspatia ? C.

ald O.E. 'old.' Alby Field* C., Al-doth C.

alor O.E. 'alder (tree).' Allerby ? C.

ân, *see* **einn**.

askr, *see* **æsc**.

***banke, bakki** O.N. 'hillside,' 'slope,' 'bank.' A very common constituent of Engl. pl. ns. The O.E. form is

benc, where the orig. *a* has become *e* by palatal umlaut. In modern dialects 'bank' means 'hill, hill-side, slope, beach; premises.'—E.D.D. Brocklebank C., Buckabank C.; Ewbank W., Fir Bank W. (List not complete.)

barð O.N. 'edge or corner of a field.' Solport ? C.; Barton ? W., Sock-bridge ? W., Tailbert* W.

bekkr O.N. 'stream,' 'beck.' Becker-met C., Caldbeck C., Cambeck C., Routenbeck C., Troutbeck C., W., Whitbeck C.; Drybeck W., Helbeck W., Raisebeck W.

* The meanings of many of these words are more fully treated in the course of the investigation of the various pl. ns.

1. The first part of the report
describes the general situation
of the country and the
results of the survey.
2. The second part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
3. The third part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
4. The fourth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
5. The fifth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
6. The sixth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
7. The seventh part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
8. The eighth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
9. The ninth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.
10. The tenth part of the report
describes the results of the
survey in detail.

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10. The tenth part of the report
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- Botcherby, Corby, Crosby, (Cross)
 Canonby, Dovenby, Easby, Ellonby,
 Etterby, Flimby, Gamblesby, Glas-
 sonby, Gutterby, Harraby, Hornaby,
 Hunsonby, Ireby, Johnby, Lamonby,
 Langwathby, Lazonby, Maughanby,
 Melmerby, Moresby, Motherby,
 Netherby, Newby, Oughterby,
 Ousby, Overby, Ponsonby, Rickerby,
 Robberby, Scaleby, Scotby, Soulby,
 Sowerby, Tarraby Thornby, Thursby,
 Upperby, Walby, Wiggonby=50.
Farm-names: Arnaby, Skitby,
 Upmanby, Wormanby. (List not
 complete.)
- W. Appleby, Asby, Bomby, Colby,
 Crosby, Kirkby (4), Nateby, Newby,
 Rookby, Soulby, Thrimby, Waitby
 =15.
- caer** Welsh, 'fortified town.' Cardew ?
 C., Cardurnock* C., Carlisle C.,
 Carwinley C., Carhullan* (F) W.
- cald** O.E., **kaldr** O.N. 'cold.' Cald-
 beck C.
- careg** Welsh, **carraig** Gael. 'rock,'
 'cliff.' Castle Carrock C.
- carn** Gael. 'cairn,' 'heap of stones.'
 Carlatton* C.
- castel** O.E. from Lat. *castellum*.
 Castle Rigg C., Castle Carrock C.
- ceaster** O.E. from Lat. *castrum* or
castra. Pl. ns. with this el. are in
 many instances situated on or near
 Roman roads. Bewcastle C., Mun-
 caster C., Papcastle C., Casterton
 W., Hincaster W.
- chwyn** Welsh 'weeds.' Whinfell ? C.,
 Whincop ? (F) C., Cumwhinton ? C.
- clif** O.E., **hlif** O.N. 'cliff,' 'precipitous
 hill-side.' It is possible that this
 word as a first el. of pl. ns. may
 have been confused with one or other
 of the O.N. pers. ns. *Kleppr* or
Klyppr (Lind). Clifton C., Rockcliff
 C., Cliburn W., Clifton W., Keasley
 ? W.
- *clôh** O.E. 'ravine.' The dialect forms
 'clough,' 'cleugh' are in common use
 in Scotl. and N. of Engl., with the
 meaning 'ravine, chasm, narrow glen,
 deep wooded valley,' E.D.D. We
 have to postulate in O.E. the form
clôh to account for 'clough'; it is
 allied to the Dutch and Frisian
klinge 'hill.' Cloffocks ? C., Halt-
 cliffe* C., Cleugh Head (F) C.,
 Cleugh Side (F) C.
- clos** O.F. 'small enclosure,' 'close.'
 Nunclose C.
- cnæp** O.E., **knapp** O.N. 'small round
 hill,' 'knoll.' Knapethorn ? (F) C.
- cnoc** Gaelic 'hill.' Knockupworth ? (F)
 C.
- cnotta** O.E. 'knob,' 'knoll.' Knot (F)
 C.
- cott** O.E., **kot** O.N. 'hut,' 'cote.'
 Coate* C., Cotehill ? (F) C., Salt-
 coats C., Ulcat Row* (F) C., (Asby)
 Coatsforth ? W.
- craig** Welsh 'rock.' Cragyeat ? (F) W.
- croft** O.E. 'small enclosed field,' 'croft.'
 Crofton C., Ruckcroft C., Silecroft C.
- crôked** M.E. 'crooked,' not found in
 O.E. but prob. formed from O.N.
krókr 'bend,' 'angle.' Crookdake ? C.,
 Crookwath ? C., Linecrook (F) C.
- cum** Celt. (cf. Welsh *cwm*) 'glen,'
 'valley.' Cumrew C., Cumdivock C.,
 Cumcatch (F) C., Cumwhinton C.,
 Cumwhitton C.
- cwēne** O.E., **kvenna** O.N. 'woman.'
 Cumwhinton ? C.
- dalr** O.N., **dæl** O.E. 'valley,' 'dale.'
 C. Allerdale, Borrowdale, Bowder-
 dale, Crossdale, Cummersdale, Enner-
 dale, Eskdale, Geltsdale, Grinsdale,

Hawksdale, Laversdale, Liddel ?, **eng** O.N. 'pasture land.' Turnings (F) C., Graining Field (F) W., Ings W.
Matterdale, Mosedale, Mungrisdale, Stockdalewath (Bound), Tindale, erg O.N. 'mountain pasture,' from Uldale, Wasdale. Celtic, cf. Gaelic *airidh* 'shealing, hill pasture'; see Moorman, West Riding Place-names, pp. 216-218, and Goodall, Pl. Ns. of S.W. Yorks., p. 147. Berrier C., Cleator C., Mosser C., Docker W., Mansergh W., Ninezergh (F) W., Skelamergh W.

W. Borrowdale, Bousdale, Bretherdale, Hardendale, Hegdale, Kendal, Mardale, Martindale, Oddendale, Patterdale, Ravenstonedale, Rydal, Sleddale, Smardale, Swindale, Wandale, Weasdale.

denu O.E. 'valley,' 'dale.' In modern dialects 'dean' means, among other things, 'a deep wooded valley or dell,' accord. to E.D.D. Vinogradoff, Eng. Soc., p. 291, defines a 'dene' as 'a clearance in the thicket, in which men and animals may move with some ease,' and he adds that it was used for pasturage. Arlecdon* C., Dean* C.

diki O.N. 'trench,' 'ditch with bank at side.' In modern dialects *dike* has various meanings besides these, but they may all be referred to either the trench or channel dug, or the earth dug out and heaped up by the trench. The following names are all of farmsteads. Bascodyke (F) C., Crindledyke (F) C., Whasdyke (F) W.

drag O.N. 'glen' (Rygh) Dundraw ? C., Linedraw ? (F) C.

dūn Celtic 'hill.' Dunmail (Raise)* C.

ēast O.E. 'East.' Easby ? C., Easton ? C., Eastwaite ? (F) C.

oik O.N., **ōc** O.E., 'oak.' Aiket Gate* C., Aikhead C., Aikshaw C., Aikton C., Crookdake C.

ōnn O.N. 'one.' Anthorn C.

enstapl O.N. 'bracken fern.' Ainstable ? C.

elb O.N. 'narrow strip of land joining two fields.' Culgaith ? C.

espi O.N. 'aspen (tree).' Esps ? (F) C., Espford (F) W., Espland Hill W.

ey O.N., **ēg** O.E. 'island.' The O.N. word is often used to mean 'a stretch of flat land running along a sheet of water or river' (Rygh); we may compare the similar use of O.N. *holmr.* Corney C., Lowsay (F) C., Hunday (F) C., Riddlesay (F) W., Tebay W.

fald O.E. 'enclosure,' 'fold.' Midden-dorff, Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch, p. 49, cites several instances of this word from charters. The modern dialect word 'fold' or 'fauld' means also 'a farm-yard.' Faulds (F) C.

***fealh** O.E. 'fallow land.' The usual O.E. word *feadu* does not satisfactorily account for the common dialect word 'faugh.' Faugh C.

feld O.E. 'open field.' In modern dialects 'field' has various meanings such as 'a stretch of unenclosed arable land as opposed to pasture,' 'a parish or lordship,' 'common-land belonging to a parish,' E.D.D. The words 'field' and 'fell' as terminals of pl. ns. have been confused in many instances, so that it is often impossible to determine which was the original form. Bromfield ? C., Eaglesfield ? C., Thurstonfield C.

- fenn** O.E., **fen** O.N., 'fen,' 'bog,' 'swamp.' Fenton C.
- fjall** O.N. 'mountain,' 'fell.' In common use in the N. of Engl., where it means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a hill, mountain; high, open, untitled ground; a moor, moorland.' It is frequently confused with 'field' in pl. ns.; see **feld**. Blake Fell C., Sellafield ? C., Staffield ? C., Whinfell C., W.
- fjørðr** O.N. 'inlet.' Solway Firth C.
- flata, flöt** O.N., 'flat piece of land.' Brightenflat (F) C., Bleasflat (F) W.
- fléot, flöte** O.E., **fljót** O.N. 'piece of water,' 'stream,' 'pool.' In modern dialects 'fleet' means among other things, 'a shallow channel, estuary; a tidal creek, an inlet, arm of the sea; a shallow sheet of water; a flat bog or swamp out of which the water issues from the hills,' E.D.D. Crookafleet (F) C., Flitholme* W.
- flæt** O.N. 'flat piece of land.' Eaglesfield ? C.
- ford** O.E. 'ford,' 'shallow water in a river.' Blackford C., Gosforth C., Shopford C., Udford (F) C., Coatsforth W., Espford (F) W., Sandford W.
- McClure, Br. Pl. Ns., etc., p. 242n, has a note on place-names compounded with -ford.
- fül** O.E. 'dirty,' 'muddy.' In modern dialects 'foul' often means 'choked up, covered with weeds,' E.D.D. Foulseyke ? C.
- fyrhõe** O.E. 'wood,' 'copse' (of fir-trees ?). Middendorff cites several instances of this word from charters. It is apparently an umlaut form from *furh*, which occurs in the compound *furh-wudu*, 'fir-tree.' **Frið** 'forest' was a common word in M.E. See Firbank, W., and Wyld, Lanca. Pl. Ns., pp. 328, 329. Firbank ? W.
- galga** O.E., **gálgi** O.N. 'gallowa.' Gallowberry* (F) C., Galliber* (F) W.
- gär** O.E. 'pointed piece of land.' A 'gore,' 'gair' or 'gare' is 'a triangular piece of land in the corner of a field which cannot be ploughed with the rest,' E.D.D. Grass Gars* C.
- garðr** O.N. 'small enclosed field,' 'paddock.' Garth is common in N. dialects. Biggards (F) C., Guards (F) C., Mellguards (F) C., Snittlegarth C., Skygarth (F) W.
- gata** O.N. 'road,' 'way,' 'passage,' 'path.' These are also the meanings of 'gate' in Scotl. and N. of Engl., but it has in the N. of Engl. developed the meaning of 'the right or privilege of pasturage for cattle, etc., either free on common ground, or by arrangement on private ground; pasturage,' E.D.D. Aiketgate C., Barkgate (F) C., Leadgate C., Lee-gate C., Mealsgate C., Scattergate W., Walmgate (F) W.
- geat** O.E. 'gate.' Yeathouse C.
- gell** O.N. 'passage,' 'narrow glen.' See Hugill. Gale Field* (F) C., Gale Hall* (F) C., Gale Barn* (F) W., Gale Garth* (F) W., Hugill W., Thorney Gale (F) W.
- gil** O.N. 'ravine,' 'narrow glen.' Very common in C. and W. In pl. ns. it may occasionally be confused with 'scale.'
- C. Blay Gill, Garrigill, Gatesgill, Gubbergill (F), Hethersgill, Ivegill, Sosgill.
- W. Leasgill, Outhgill, Reagill, Rosgill, Shoregill, Skettle Gill (F), Sleagill, Whygill.

glenna O.N. 'clearing in a forest,' 'grass patch between rocks' (Rygh).
 Glenridding* W.
gnipa O.N. 'mountain top,' 'peak.'
 Knipe W.
gōs O.E. 'goose.' Gosforth ? C.
graf O.E., **grōf** O.N. 'pit,' 'trench,' dug for various purposes such as charcoal-burning or for peat. Musgrave W.
grāfa O.E. 'bush,' 'thicket.' A 'greave' means 'a grove'; 'a division of a forest,' accord. to E.D.D. Greaves (F) C.
græg O.E. 'grey.' Greystoke ? C.
grein O.N. 'branch,' 'twig.' In modern dialects, especially in Scotl. and N. of England, the word 'grain' has, besides the original sense, derived meanings such as 'the fork or branch of a river or stream'; 'the branch of a valley or ravine,' E.D.D. Grain Head (F) C., Greenah ? (F) C., Graining Field (F) W.
hōfn O.E., **hōfn** O.N. 'harbour,' 'port.' Whitehaven C.
hæsl O.E., 'hazel.' Hazelslack ? W.
hagi O.N. 'pasture'; see Hag End, W., footnote.
halh O.E. 'recess,' 'corner,' 'angle.' See Haile, Cumb. Aimshaugh ? (F) C., Blackhall C., Hale C., Isell C., Wetheral C., Hale W., Hale Grange (F) W., Hale Field (F) W.
hām O.E., **heimr** O.N. 'homestead,' 'farm.' This word was at an early period in common use among both the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians in the formation of names of farmsteads. In those parts of England where there was a considerable Scandinavian settlement, difficulty arises, as Lindkvist points out, p. 58, in determining whether in pl.

ns. the terminal *-ham* is of O.E. or Scand. origin. He thinks that if the first el. of a pl. n. is characteristically Scand., this is *prima facie* evidence of a Scand. origin for the whole n. It may be added that if among the M.E. forms we find the terminal in such a case written *-heim* we may affirm with certainty the Scand. origin of the name. Lindkvist further shows that the M.E. terminal *-heim* does not necessarily prove Scand. origin for the whole name nor does *-ham* prove Engl. origin. Various considerations have to be taken into account and even so we are often left in doubt. In the 11th century *ham* came to be equivalent to the word 'manor,' as Vinogradoff shows. In some parts of England the terminal *-ham* shows confusion between O.E. *hām* and O.E. *hamm*, 'angle of knee-joint.' The latter word survives as 'ham' in modern E. dialects with the meaning 'flat, low-lying pasture land near a stream or river,' E.D.D. Stenton, in Pl. Ns. of Berksh., p. 12, points out that the dial. word 'hale,' from O.E. *halk*, has exactly this meaning, and that in those districts where the one is in use the other is not found. From this fact we are perhaps justified in concluding that in Cumb. and Westm. pl. ns. *-ham* represents O.E. *hām*, O.N. *heimr*, but not O.E. *hamm*, seeing that 'hale' is in use in these counties.

C. Addingham, Brigham, Dearham, Farlam, Hensingham, Holme Cultram, Sebergham, Whicham.

W. Brougham ? Heversham.

hār O.E. 'white,' 'whitish.' Hare-sceugh* C., Hare Shaw* W.

haugr O.N., **hōh** O.E. 'hillock,' 'mound,' especially a 'grave-mound.' The O.E. *hōh* meant also 'heel,' mod. E. 'hough.' Lindkvist points out that in pl. ns. occurring in the Scand. parts of England, it is impossible to decide in any given case whether 'how' or 'howe' comes from the O.E. or from the O.N. word. An inspection of the following list will show that the greater number of names in 'how' are the names of farms. We must beware of thinking that in these names 'how' always means 'grave mound'; as it is used also of natural eminences. Further, it is to be noticed that 'how' almost always occurs with a pers. n., the person possessing the name being probably in most cases the owner of the 'how,' which happened to be in his field. In other instances, the name may be that of the person buried in the mound, and is thus of much older date.

C. Calvo, Cloflocks ?, How, Hutton ?, Mealo, Pardshaw*, Pica, Powter How, Stoddah, Thorpenhow, Ulpha*, Whelpo, Whinnow.

Farm-names: Brotto ?, Cannerheugh, Craikhow Hall, Elva, Oxhouse Oaks ?, Whallo.

W. Howtown, Hutton?.

Farm-names: Busket Howe, Calva, Cracow, Dry How, Flake How, Goose How, Ledder Howe, Mirk How, Upman How, Wads How, Whinhowe.

hēafod O.E. 'head,' 'summit,' 'highest part'; frequently used in pl. ns. in reference to hills, valleys, woods, streams, etc. It seems to be usually compounded with pers. ns., is often

confused with O.N. *sætr* 'summer dairy pasture,' and frequently appears in modern pl. ns. as -side, so that in any given case it is difficult to decide which is the original. Its M.E. form is *heved*, *heued*. Mr. W. G. Collingwood suggests that the M.E. terminal *heved* may in some cases represent, by 'popular etymology,' the O.N. *hefð* 'prescriptive right,' which survives in the N. country dialect word *heaf* 'accustomed pasture for sheep.'

C. Aikhead, Aiket Gate ? Armside ?, Edderside*, Eskett, Kenniside ?, Kingside, Sceughead, Shawhead, Sparket, Swinside?.

W. Arnside, Burneside, Fawcett (Forest), Greenside ?, Ormside, Towcett ?, Whasset.

heg O.E., **hey** O.N. 'hay.' Hayton ? C., Blennerhasset ? C.

hege O.E. 'piece of fenced-in land, especially in a forest, used for confining game'; see Vinogradoff, E. Soc. of the xith cent., p. 292; see also Hay, Westm.

Hayton* C., Haithwaite ? (F) C., Hay W.

helmr see **hām**.

hellir O.N. 'cave,' 'cavern.' Helbeck ? W.

hestr O.N. 'horse,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Hesket* C., Hestham ? (F) C.

hlaða O.N. 'barn,' 'granary.' Laithes C.

hlāw O.E. 'grave-mound,' 'hill.' A very common terminal of pl. ns. E.D.D. notes that in Northd. it occurs in 114 pl. ns., as 'law,' or 'low.' Carwinley C., Laws C.; Hartley ? W., Linglow (F) W.

- hlūð** O.E., O.N. 'hillside,' 'sloping ground.' C. Ainstable, Liddel ?, Liscow ? (F), Lyzzick ? (F). W., Kelleth*, Lyth.
- hofsuð** O.N. 'head,' 'promontory.' Whitehaven C.
- hoggr** O.N. 'blow,' 'cut.' In the N. of Engl. a 'hag' means 'a wooded enclosure, a wood, copse,' E.D.D. Hagg (F) C.; Hag End W.
- hóll** O.N. 'hill,' 'eminence.' Gunshole ? (F) C., Staffield ? C., Wart-hole ? C.
- hólmr** O.N. 'island,' 'small eminence on flat land liable to inundation.' In modern dialects the word 'holm' is used in Scotl. and the N. of Engl. both with the original meaning and the extended sense of 'low-lying level ground on the borders of a river or stream,' E.D.D. The latter signification is thus practically identical with that of 'hale' and 'ham'; see **hálh** and **hām**. In pl. ns. the terminal '-holm' has in some cases been confused with 'ham.'
- C. Booth Holme, Burtholme, Holme, Holme Cultram, Holmrook, House Holm, Ling Holm, Millom, Midgeholme, Mirkholme (F), Rampsholm, Roulholme, Sleightholme, Studholme.
- W. Angerholme (F), Askham*, Cherryholm, Flitholme, Greenholme, Gullom Holme, Holmescales, Lockholme, Oxenholme, Rampson, Wallholm.
- hópr** O.N., *hop O.E. The O.N. word means 'a small creek or inlet.' As an independent word *hop* does not occur in O.E., but the compound *mōrhop* occurs. In Scotl. and the N. of Engl. the dialect word 'hope' means 'a hollow among the hills; a valley through which a brook runs,' E.D.D.
- Hopesike Woods C., Rotherhope (F) C., Wythop C.; Hartsop W., Meathop W.
- hröysl** O.N. 'pile of stones,' 'cairn.' Dunmail Raise C.; Raisebeck W., Selsitraise W., Stainraise W.
- hryding** O.E. 'patch of cleared land.' In modern dialects 'ridding' means 'a clearing, especially an open space in a wood; a green road through a wood,' E.D.D.
- Riddings C.; Glenridding W.
- hryggr** 'back,' 'ridge of a mountain or hill.' The O.E. form *hrycg* has become 'ridge' in pl. ns. Among the derived meanings of 'rigg' in Scotl. and the N. of Engl. are 'a section of a ploughed field; a measure of land; a raised road.'—E.D.D.
- C. Bigrigg, Brownrigg, Ewanrigg, Finlandrigg, Haverigg, Langrigg, Mealrigg, Wheyrigg, Whitrigg.
- W. Brundrigg (F), Grayrigg, Lambrigg, Lockrigg, Scalthwaiterigg.
- hūs** O.E., hus O.N. 'house.' In pl. ns. often used in the plural. It is probably confused in some cases with O.N. *óss*, 'estuary,' 'creek.' Woodhouses* C.
- hváll** O.N. 'isolated eminence, usually of a rounded form,' (Rygh). Wha House* (F) C.; Whale* W., Carlingwha* (F) W.
- hvammr** O.N. 'hollow or depression in the ground' (Rygh). Whamtown ? (F) C.
- hverfi** O.N. 'curve,' 'winding.' Whar-ton ? W.
- hwit** O.E., hvitr O.N. 'white,' 'bright,' probably used also as a pers. n. Whitbeck ? C., Whitehaven C.

- hyll** O.E. 'hill.' Perhaps confused occasionally in pl. ns. with O.N. *holl*. Brackenhill C., Cotehill C., Powhill C., Warnell* C., Warthole* C.
- hyrst** O.E. 'small wood.' Burthinghurst (F) C., Owlhurst (F) C., Swallow Hurst ? (F) C.
- intake** O.N. 'piece of land taken in.' In modern dialects an 'intake' is 'a piece of land enclosed from a moor, common, or road; a fell-side pasture; land reclaimed from a tidal river or sea.'—E.D.D. Intack, Intake (F) C.
- jorð** O.N. 'earth,' 'ground'; see Sizergh, W.
- kappall** O.N. 'horse,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Capperigg ? (F) W.
- kaup** O.N. 'purchase.' Copeland Forest C.; Warcop ? W.
- kelda** O.N. 'spring.' The word 'keld' appears to be still used in North country dialect, accord. to E.D.D. Keld House ? (F) C., Kelsick* C., Kelton ? C., Salkeld C., Threlkeld C., Winskill ? C.; Gunnerkeld W., Keld W., Kelleth W.
- kirkja** O.N. 'church.' The O.N. word is borrowed from the O.E. *cirice*, which has given the modern 'church.' C. Bridekirk, Curthwaite, Kirkbampton, Kirkandrews, Kirkbride, Kirkcambeck, Kirklington, Kirkoswald, Kirksanton, Kirksteads. W. Kirkby.
- kjarr** O.N. 'copsewood,' 'brushwood,' especially when growing on swampy land, and often used to mean 'swampy ground.' In N. Engl. dialects a 'carr' has the meaning: 'a pool, hollow place where water sometimes stands; low-lying land apt to be flooded; a wood of alder or other trees in a moist, boggy place; boggy grass-land.'—E.D.D. Birker C., Harker C., Selker C., Uzzacre ? (F) C.; Dilikar ? W.
- klauf** O.N. 'cleft,' 'gap.' Cloffocks ? C.
- kleif** O.N. 'broad hill-slope,' Keisley ? W.
- klettr** O.N. 'knoll,' 'rock,' 'cliff.' Cleator* C.
- klif** O.N. 'cliff'; see *clif*.
- knappr** O.N. 'knoll'; see *cnap*.
- *kreik** O.N. 'winding stream' (Lindkvist). This word is postulated by Lindkvist in order to account for M.E. pl. n. forms *Kreic*, *Creic*, *Crek*, etc. It is allied to O.N. *Krikr* 'bend,' occurring as an el. of several Norwegian pl. ns. E.D.D. cites a Cumb. dialect word 'creyke' meaning 'a nook or opening formed in the sand of marshes by the tide.' The word 'creek' is allied to these forms. Greystoke ? C., Blindcrake ? C.
- krabbi** O.N. 'crab,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Crabstack ? W.
- krókr** O.N. 'bend,' 'crook,' 'angle.' The modern Engl. 'crooked,' M.E. *cróked*, is the past participle of a verb which has no equivalent form in O.E. Crookdale C., Linecrook (F) C.; Crook ? W.
- kross** O.N. 'cross,' made of stone or wood and used as a beacon, land mark, guide-post, etc., as well as to mark a grave or holy place (Rygh). C. Crosby, Crossdale, Cross (Canonby). W. Crosby, Crosscrake, Crosthwaite ?

- lā** O.N. 'shallow water lying along a shore; marshy water' (Rygh). Low-silly Hole ? (F) C.; Hartley ? W.
- land** O.E., O.N. 'land,' 'ground.' In modern dialects 'land' has special meanings such as 'pasture land; stinted common pasture; a piece of land in a common field; untilled land; a strip of land in an unenclosed field.'—E.D.D.
- C. Copeland Forest, Gilsland, Sunderland, Threapland.
- W. Natland.
- lang** O.E., **langr** O.N. 'long.'
- Langrigg C., Langwathby C.; Langton W.
- laug** O.N. 'basin.' Lough ? (F) C.
- lāh** O.E. 'meadow,' 'pasture-land.' This is also the modern dialect meaning of 'lea.' This word as a terminal of pl. ns. is sometimes confused with *low* from O.E. *hlāw*, 'grave-mound,' 'tumulus.' Bradley C., Roaley* C.; Staveley W.
- leysingi** O.N. 'freed man'; commonly used as a pers. n. Lazonby C.
- lōgr** O.N. 'sea'; **log** Norw. dial. 'water.' This word perhaps survives as 'low' in N. country dialects, with the meanings 'a shallow pool left in sand by the retiring tide; a hollow in marsh land; a pond or standing pool.'—E.D.D. But 'low' may represent O.N. *laug*, 'basin.' See *lagu*.
- Lough ? (F) C., Lowsilly Hole ? (F) C., Loughrigg ? (F) C.
- lundr** O.N. 'small wood,' 'grove'; probably in pl. ns. confused occasionally with 'land.' Lund C.; Hanging Lund W.
- lyag** O.N. 'heather.' Ling Holm C., Lingey Closehead C., Linglow ? (F) W.
- mād** O.E. 'meadow.' Beckermest ? C.
- meir** O.N. 'sand-hill,' 'sand-bank.'
- C. Eskmeals, Mealo*, Mealrigg, Mealsgate, Melbecks ? (F), Mellguards ? (F).
- W. Meal Bank, Mealy Syke*.
- mere** O.E. 'lake,' 'pool.' In modern dialects 'mere' is used to mean 'a sheet of standing water, a pond,' E.D.D.
- Buttermere C.; Grasmere W., Kentmere W., Mardale ? W., Marton ? W., Windermere W.
- middel** O.E. 'middle.' Middlesceugh C.
- mikill** O.N., **mical** O.E. 'large.' Micklethwaite C.
- mōr** O.E., **mór** O.N. 'moor,' 'heath.' In O.E. *mōr* meant also 'swampy ground,' 'fen,' as in the poem of *Beowulf*. In some parts of Engl. at the present day 'moor' means 'a low, marshy meadow by the water-side; wet, marshy, swampy land; a rough, swampy piece of pasture land'; peat mud and ooze,' E.D.D., but these meanings are apparently not found in the N. of Engl.
- C. Moorthwaite, Murton ? Whillimoor.
- W. Murthwaite, Murton ?, Stainmore.
- moel** O.N., **mos** O.E. 'marshy place,' 'peat bog.' The word 'moss' is commonly used with this meaning in Scotl., Irel. and the N. of Engl. Mosedale ? C., Mosser C.; Musgrave W..
- mūð** O.E. 'mouth,' 'estuary.' Cocker-mouth C.
- mycg** O.E. 'midge.' Midgeholm* C.

mylen O.E., **mylna** O.N. 'water-mill.'
Millom C.; Millburn W., Milnthorpe W.

myrr O.N. 'swampy land.' Seems to occur only in farm-names.

C. Cleamire (F), Mire House (F), Thackmire (F).

W. Dudmire (F), Sowermire (F).

nes O.E., **nes** O.N. 'headland,' promontory.' Ashness (F) C., Skinburness C.

neoðor O.E. 'lower,' 'nether.' Netherby C., Netherton C., Nethergrave-ship W.

niwe O.E. 'new.' Newby C., Newlands C., Newbigging C.; Newbiggin W., Newby W.

norð O.E., **norðr** O.N. 'north.' North-sceugh C.

nunne O.E. 'nun.' Nunclose C.

ofer O.E. 'bank of river.' Orthwaite ? C., Orton ? C.

oxa O.E. 'ox.' Oxenholme* W.

pearroc O.E. 'enclosure,' 'paddock.' Paddockwray (F) C., Parrocks (F) W.

pen Celt. 'hill,' 'mountain.' Penrith C., Penruddock C.

pól O.E. 'pool.' The O.N. *pollr*, with which *pol* may have been confused in pl. ns., means 'a small circular cove with a narrow entrance' (Rygh). In English dialects 'pool' means 'a large sheet of natural water; a small lake; a wide and watery ditch; a large open drain; a slow-moving rivulet, especially in 'carse' land; a watery or marshy place; a swamp.' E.D.D. Wampool C.; Sampool (F) W.

pott O.E. 'pot.' In Scotl. and N. of Engl. a 'pot' means 'a deep hole or cavity, especially in the bed of a

river, a pool; a moss-hole from which peats have been dug.'—E.D.D. Barepot C.

prēost O.E. 'priest.' Preston (Patrick) W.

racu O.E. 'hollow path'; **rāk** O.N. 'cattle-route.' Brantrake (F) C., Rakefoot (F) C., Raughton Head ? C.

rā O.N. 'boundary line,' 'landmark,'= O.E. *rāw* 'row,' 'hedgerow.' Occurs as 'ray' in Cumb. accord. to E.D.D. Baggrow ? C., Baggarah ? (F) C.

rauðr O.N. 'red.' Rockcliff C.

reln O.N. 'strip of unploughed land separating fields.' Rain House (F) C.; Rayne W.

rhuddoc Welsh 'ruddy'; Penruddock ? C.

rhyd Celt. (Welsh) 'ford,' 'passage.' Penrith ? C.

rjōðr O.N. 'glen in a forest.' Penrith ? C.; Rydal ? W.

rugr O.N. 'rye.' Buckcroft ? C., Ruthwaite ? C.

sætr O.N. 'summer pasture and dairy.' In Norwegian pl. ns., according to Rygh, *sætr* has been often confused with *setr* 'farmstead,' 'farm.' Whether this confusion has occurred in Engl. pl. ns. of Scand. origin it is impossible to decide. But *sætr* in its M.E. form *set* is in pl. ns. often confused with M.E. *heved*, *hede*, 'head,' and later also with 'side.' In Engl. pl. ns. of Scand. origin we may exclude 'side' as the original form, so 'that it remains in any given case to decide between *sætr* and O.E. *hēafod*, a matter of great difficulty.

Annaside C., Armaside ? C., Blennerhasset ? C., Oughterside C., Swin

- side ? C.; Ambleside W., Selside ? W., Towcett ? W., Rayside W.
- salh** O.E. 'willow.' Salkeld C., Saughs (F) C., Saughtrees (F) C.
- sand** O.E., **sandr** O.N. 'sand.' Sandraw* (F) C., Sandwith C., Santon ? C.; Sandford W.
- saurr** O.N. 'sour, swampy land.' Sourmire (F) C.; Southwaite ? W., Sowermire (F) W.
- sceaga** O.E. 'small wood,' see also **skógr**. In pl. ns. O.E. *sceaga* becomes 'shaw,' while O.N. *skógr* becomes 'skeugh' or 'skew' or 'sceugh.' Aikshaw C., Aimsaugh ? (F) C., Pardshaw C., Shatton ? C., Shawhead C.; Hare Shaw W.
- scylf** O.E. 'crag,' 'precipice,' 'steeply sloping ground.' Skelton* C.
- selsetr** O.N. 'summer pasture and dairy.' This is also the meaning of **satr**, *q.v.* Selside ? W.
- sik** O.N. 'slowly flowing or stagnant water.' The O.E. form is *sic*. In Engl. dialects 'sike' or 'syke' means 'a small rill, especially one which runs dry in summer; a marshy hollow containing one or more streams; boggy land; a ditch; a gutter.'—E.D.D.
- C. Barf Syke (F), Barugh Syke (F), Hopesike Woods, Kelsick ? Lyzzick ? (F), Rotherasike (F), Routen Sike (F).
- W. Blacksyke, Mealy Syke.
- skáli** O.N. 'hut or shed put up for temporary use, sometimes at a considerable distance from the farm' (Lindkvist). This is also the meaning of 'scale' in Cumb. and Westm. pl. ns. Its use in the plural goes back to early times.
- C. Bowscale, Gutherscale (F), Hudscales (F), Portinscale, Scales, Scarromanick ? Winskill ? Winscales.
- W. Heggerscale, Holmescales, Scalthwaiterigg ? Thorneyscale (F).
- skelð** O.N. (1) 'ground for horse-races,' (2) 'road between two corn-fields.' It is impossible to decide in any given case which of these meanings was borne by the word when first used as part of the pl. n. See Rygh, p. 75, and Lindkvist, pp. 29 and 77.
- Brunstock ? C., Hesket C.
- sker** O.N. 'isolated rock,' 'peak,' 'cliff.' The word 'scar,' spelt in various ways, is used in dialects, especially in Scotl., Irel. and N. Engl., with the various meanings of 'a bare place on a hillside; a precipice; a cliff; a steep, bare bank; the ridge of a hill.' E.D.D. It may in some pl. ns. have been confused with **kjarr**, *q.v.*
- Scaur (F) C.
- skirr** O.N., 'bright,' 'gleaming.' The O.E. form is *scir*. Skirwith* C.
- skjól** O.N. 'shelter,' 'cover.' In dialects it occurs as 'sheal,' 'shiel,' and 'shield,' which mean 'a hut, shed, cottage; a temporary shelter erected for the use of a shepherd during the summer months,' E.D.D.
- Brunt Shields (F) C., Shield C., Foreshiel (Grains) (F) C., Shiel Green (F) C.
- skógr** O.N. 'wood'; see also **sceaga**.
- C. Briscoe, Fluskew (Hill), Haresceugh, Middlesceugh, Huddlesceugh (F), Liscow (F), Northsceugh, Skalderskeugh, Sceughhead, Scogill ? (F), Sceughmire (F), Wescow ?.
- W. Barnskeugh (F), Stennerskeugh.
- skuggi** O.N. 'shade.' Scugg (Gate) ? (F) C., Scugger (House) ? (F) C.
- skúti** O.N. 'high rock,' 'peak,' 'precipice.' Scout Green (F) W.

slag, slaggi O.N. 'wet,' 'dampness.'

Slaggy Burn ? (F) C.

slakki O.N. ? 'Slack' is a dialect word in common use in Scotl. and N. Engl., with the meanings 'a hollow, especially one in a hillside; a dip in the surface of the ground; a shallow dell, a glade; a pass between hills; a hollow boggy place; a morass; a shallow freshwater pool,' E.D.D.

C. Fore Slack (F), Sunny Slack (F), Slack (F).

W. Brackenslack (F), Hazelslack, Wickerslack, Witherslack.

slátta O.N. 'flat expanse of land.' The word 'slait,' 'sleight' in dial. means, accord. to E.D.D., 'a level pasture; a down; a sheep-walk.' Sleetbecks* (F) C., Sleightholme C.; Deerslet* (F) W., Sloddale ? W.

soc O.E. 'soakage,' 'drainage.' In English dialects 'sock' means 'the superficial moisture of land not properly drained off; boggy land; ditch running parallel with a river outside the wall; an outlet from a ditch into a river; the drainage of a dung-hill; a farmyard drain'—E.D.D.

Sockbridge ? W.

stafr O.N. **staf** O.E. 'post,' 'staff,' used as a landmark, beacon, etc. Compare the use of *stong*, *stocc*, *stapol*. Staffield* C.; Staveley W.

stakkr O.N. 'heap,' 'pile.' A 'stack' means in Orkney, Shetl., and Caithness pl. ns. 'an insulated columnar rock,' E.D.D. Crabstack W.

stán O.E., **steinn** O.N. 'stone,' 'rock.' Braystones C., Stainburn ? C., Stainton ? C., Stainmore* W.

stapol O.E. 'block of stone shaped by the mason, used as a landmark or

boundary, beacon, etc.' See Midden-dorff, Altengl. Flurn., pp. 123, 124, for a discussion of the meanings of *stapol*. Ainstable ? C., Stapleton C.

staðr O.N. 'farmstead'; probably confused in pl. ns. with O.E. *stede*, 'place,' 'site.'

Boustead (Hill) C., Kirksteads ? C., Swainsteads (F) C., Swinsty ? C., Wolsty ? C.; Broxty ? (F) W.

steinveggr O.N. 'paved road.' Stanwix* C.

stokkr O.N., **stocc** O.E. 'tree-stump.' Greystoke ? C., Linstock ? C., Stockdalewath (Bound) C.

stong O.N. 'pole,' 'post,' used as a landmark or beacon, etc. Stanger ? C.; Mallerstang ? W.

studu O.E. 'post,' 'pole.' The O.N. equivalent is *stöð*. Studholme ? C., Stoddah ? C., Stotgill ? (F) C.

sulh O.E. 'drain.' Soulby C. and W.

sunderland O.E. exact meaning uncertain; literally means 'separate land'; see Bosworth-Toller *s.v.* Sunderland C.

svangr O.N. 'slender,' perhaps used as a pers. n. Swang ? (F) C.

svað, **svaða** O.N. 'rocky ground' (Rygh). Swaithwaite ? (F) C.

swalwe O.E. 'swallow' (bird), perhaps used as a pers. n. Swallow Hurst (F) C.

tangi O.N. 'spit of land.' Unthank ? C.; Mallerstang ? W.

tūn O.E., **tun** O.N. 'enclosed piece of land,' 'farm'; later 'village,' 'town.' The primitive meaning still survives in dialects. In Scotl. and in parts of N. Engl. 'town' means 'a farmstead; a farm-house and buildings; a country seat; a single dwelling.'

C. Aikton, Alston, Angerton, Askerton, Bampton, Bolton, Brampton,

Brayton, Broughton Camerton, Carl-
atton, Carleton (4), Clifton, Coulder-
ton, Crofton, Cumwhitton, Dalston,
Denton, Distington, Easton, Emble-
ton, Fenton, Floriston, Frizington,
Harrington, Hayton (2), Houghton,
Hutton, Irthington, Irton, Kelton,
Kirklington, Lorton, Milton, Murton,
Newton (2), Orton, Oulton, Penton,
Plumpton, Raughton (Head), Ribton,
Rottington, Roweltown, Santon, Sea-
ton, Shatton, Skelton, Stainton,
Stapleton, Walton, Waverton, Wel-
ton, Wigton, Wilton, Workington =
61.

Farm-names (list not complete):
Hyton, Lanerton, Thistleton, etc.

W. Bampton, Barton, Bolton,
Brampton, Burton (2), Casterton,
Clifton, Dalton, Dufton, Farleton,
Helsington, Helton, Hilton, Howton,
Hutton (2), Killington, Langton ?
Lupton, Marton, Murton, Orton,
Patton, Preston, Stainton, Wharton
= 27.

þang O.N. 'forest'; a word only used
in poetry. Unthank ? C.

þorn O.E., O.N. 'thorn-bush'; often
used as a landmark. Anthorn C.

þorp O.E., O.N. 'group of farms,'
'village.' In later Scandinavian
þorp came to be used for a single
farmstead. Lindkvist, who care-
fully investigates the occurrence of
the elements, *thwaite*, *by* and *thorp*
in pl. ns., notes that 'thorp' in pl.
ns. is rare in the north-western
counties of Scand. England, but very
common in the most Scandinavianized
districts of the Danelaw, especially
in Yorksh., Lincs. and Rutl. He
doubts whether the word **þorp** was
ever used as a pl. n. element in

England previous to the Scand.
period, but that it was of frequent
occurrence in pl. ns. in Scandinavia,
as well as on the Continent; pp. lv,
lvi.

Cracrop ? (F) C.; Crackenthorp
W., Clawthorpe (F) W., Hackthorpe
W., Melkinthorpe W., Milnethorpe
W.

þræpian O.E. 'to dispute.' In E.D.D.
it is noted that 'threap-ground,'
'threaplands,' are names given to
debateable lands on the Border.
Threapland C.; Threapthwaite W.

þveit O.N. 'piece of cleared land,'
'paddock.' The word is allied to
O.E. **þwitan** 'to cut off.' **Þveit** is,
accord. to Rygh, an element of about
600 Norwegian pl. ns. Rygh re-
marks that in the majority of
instances, when it forms the second
el. of a compound, the first is a
pers. name. At the same time, other
words frequently occur in Norw. pl.
ns. as the first element, as names of
trees, plants, rivers, attributes, etc.
In his valuable note on **þveit**, which
he shows to occur in the M.E. forms
of 232 English pl. ns., Lindkvist
notes the fact that on the map of
modern England there are many
more places than this containing
-thwaite, and from this he concludes
that many of the present names of
this kind came into existence only
in the modern English period. He
adds that the majority of the *thwaite*
names in England are not met with
until the 13th and 14th centuries, or
even later, and the great majority
occur in the Northern and especially
the North-western counties. They
were in many instances originally

mere field-names, designations of reclaimed land. In the Northern counties Lindkvist considers that the occurrence of -thwaite in pl. ns. is due to Old West Scandinavian influence. South of the Humber some of these names may be due to Danish settlers, as *tved*, the Danish form of *pveit*, occurs not infrequently in the oldest Danish pl. ns. Accord. to E.D.D. the word 'thwaite' in Cumb., Westm. and Yorksh. means 'a forest clearing; a piece of land fenced off or unenclosed; a low meadow; a fell; generally used in proper names.'

C. Applethwaite, Armathwaite, Austhwaite, Bassenthwaite, Blaithwaite, Brackenthwaite, Braithwaite, Branthwaite (2), Burthwaite, Calthwaite, Crosthwaite, Curthwaite, Dowthwaite, Legburthwaite, Moor-thwaite, Micklethwaite, Orthwaite, Rosthwaite, Ruthwaite, Seathwaite, Shoulthwaite, Smaithwaite, Southwaite, Stonethwaite, Thackthwaite (2), Thornthwaite, Thornythwaite (2), Thwaites, Waberthwaite, Wanthwaite=33.

Farm-names: Eastwaite, Godderthwaite, Haithwaite, Outhwaite, Swaithwaite. (List incomplete.)

W. Ackenthwaite, Applethwaite, Beathwaite (Green), Castlethwaite, Crossthwaite, Murthwaite, Oxenthwaite, Roundthwaite, Scalthwaite-rigg, Southwaite, Ulthwaite=11.

Farm-names: Stangerthwaite. (List incomplete.)

varða O.N. 'beacon,' 'pile of stones on a hill'; in modern Norwegian also 'mountain ridge.' Naworth ? C., Warthole* C.; Warcop ? W.

vaðr O.N. 'ford across river or channel,' 'shallow water'; 'fishing-bank' (Rygh). In Scotl., Cumb. and West. 'wath' is still in use with the meaning of 'ford.' In pl. ns. it is frequently confused with O.N. *viðr*, 'wood.'

C. Langwathby, Sandwith, Solway (Firth), Wath.

Farm-names: Blea Wath, Brockle-wath, Dubwath, Hundith (Hall) ? Stoneywath.

W. Winderwath, Yanwath.*

Farm-names: Salterwath.

veiðibúð O.N. 'fishing shed.'

Waberthwaite ? C.

vík O.N. 'small creek,' 'inlet,' 'cove.' Accord. to E.D.D. a 'wick' or 'wyke' means in Cumb. 'a narrow opening between rising grounds.' The usual meaning, however, of this dialect word is 'corner,' 'angle.' Often confused in pl. ns. with O.E. *wic* 'dwelling,' 'farmstead,' 'village.' In the following pl. ns. it is hardly possible to decide which of these words is the original of the terminal in any given case.

C. Kelsick ?, Kelswick ? (F), Kewick, Renwick, Siddick, Warwick.

W. Butterwick, Cunswick (F) Kearslick, Sedgwick.

viðr O.N. 'wood,' 'thicket'; often confused with *vaðr*, *q.v.* Bewaldet* C., Hundith (Hall)* (F) C., Skirw C., Wythburn ? C., Colwith* (F)

völlr O.N. 'grass-covered flat l' Blackwell ? C.

vrá O.N. 'corner,' 'tongue of l' 'piece of good land wedge between useless land' (Rygh). word is in pl. ns. confused with *rá* 'landmark,' *q.v.* In pl. n occurs as wray and wreay. l

- gives 'wray,' 'ray' as a Westm. **well**, **wella**, O.E. 'spring,' 'well.' word meaning 'corner.' See Lindkvist, pp. 197, 198. Perhaps confused in some cases with *vøllr*, *q.v.* Blackwell ? C., Welton ? C., Segbustwell ? (F) C., Kelkerwell ? (F) W.
- C. Bramery (F), Dockray, Murrah, Paddockwray (F), Stanger ?, Wreay, Wrea (F). **west** O.E., **vestr** O.N. 'west.'
- weall** O.E. 'wall.' Walton ? C. Wescow* C., Westray (F) C.
- weg** O.E., **vegr** O.N. 'way,' 'road.' **wudu** O.E. 'wood' (forest and material). Inglewood (Forest) C., Woodhouses C.
- Wallaway (Green) C.

SHORT LIST OF WORDS, OTHER THAN NAMES OF PERSONS,
FROM WHICH CUMB. AND WESTM. PL. NS. ARE, OR MAY
BE, DERIVED, BEING A DIGEST OF THE WORD LISTS.

NOTE.

A suffixed asterisk denotes that the word to which it is affixed is with considerable probability, though not with certainty, the original of one or more pl. n. elements. A prefixed asterisk denotes a hypothetical form.

A suffixed note of interrogation denotes that there is considerable uncertainty whether the word to which it is affixed is the origin of any pl. n. element.

Italicised words are those which occur in both the O.E. and the O.N. form, or as to which there is doubt whether the O.E. or the O.N. form is the original.

FIRST ELEMENTS OR WHOLE NAMES.

O.E. *āc*?, *æcer*, *sæppel*?, *æsc.*, *ald*, *alor*?, *birce*, *blæc*, *blāc*?, *brant*, *brād*, *būr*?, *cald*, *clif*, **clōh*, *cnæp*, *cnotta*, *cott*, *croft*, *cwēne*, *dæl*, *denu*, *east*?, *eg*, *fald*, *fealh*, *fenn*, *fleot**, *fūl*, *fyrhðe*?, *galga*, *gār*, *geat*, *gōs*?, *græfa*, *græg*?, *halh*, *hār*, *hōh*, *hæsel*?, *hege*, *hlāw*, *hryding*, *hwit*, *lang*, *mæd**, *mere*, *micel*, *middel*, *mōr*, *mos*, *mylen*, *mycg**, *neoðor*, *niwe*, *norð*, *nunne*, *ofer*?, *oxa**, *pearroc*, *racu*, *salh*, *sand*, *sceaga*, *scylf*, *soc*?, *stæf*, *stān*, *stapol*, *stocc*, *studu*?, *sulh*, *sunderland*, *swalwe*, *præpian*, *west*, *weall*?, *well*, *wudu*.

O.N. *akr*, *askr*, *austr*, *barð*?, *bekkr*, *björk*, *blakkr*, *bleikr*, *ból*?, *breiðr*, *bróðir*, *brú*, *brún*?, *bryggja*, *bräken* (Sw.), *bústaðr*, *búð*, *bygg*?, *bygging*, *dalr*, *díki*, *eik*, *einn*, *einstapi*?, *eið*, *eng*, *erg*, *espi*, *ey*, *fen*, *fjörðr*, *fljót**, *fors*, *gálgi*, *garðr*, *geil*, *gil*, *glenna*, *gnipa*, *grein*, *haugr*, *hesli*, *hestr**, *hlaða*, *høgr*, *holmr*, *hóp*, *hröysi*, *hváll**,

hvammr?, hverfi?, *hvittr*, intaka, *kaldr*, kapall?, kaup, kelda, kirkja, klauf?, klettr?, *klif*, *knappr*, *kot*, krabbi?, *kreik?, krókr, kross, *kvenna*, *langr*, leysingi, lundr, lyng, melr, *mikill*, *mór*, *mosi*, *mylna*, *mýrr*, *norðr*, ofarr?, *rák*, rauðr, rjóðr?, rugr?, *sandr*, saurr, *skógr*, selsetr?, sík, skáli, sker, skírr*, skjól, skuggi, skúti, slag?, slakki, *stafr*, *steinn*, steinveggr, *stokkr*, stöng?, *stoð*?, svangr?, svað?, tjörn, þveit, varða*, vaðr, *vestr*, viðr?, vrá.

SECOND ELEMENTS.

O.E. *æcer*, *beorg*, *burna*, *clif*, *clōh*, *æg*, feld, ford, geat, *græf*, *hæfn*, halh, *hām*, *hōh*, hēafod, hlāw, hryding, *hūs*, hyll, hyrst, *land*, *lagu*?, lēah, mere?, *mōr*, *mos*, mūð, *næs*, pōl, pott, *racu*, *rāw*, *sand*, *sceaga*, *stān*, stapol?, stige?, *stocc*?, *tūn*, þorn, þorp, *weg*, well, wudu.

O.N. *akr*, *banke, barð?, bekk, *berg*, brún, *brunnr*, búð, bygging, *ey*, fjall, flata, flet?, garðr, gata, geil, gil, *gröf*, *haugr*, *heims*, *höfn*, kelda, kirkja, kjarr, *klif*, *kreik?, krókr, *land*, *lögr*?, lyng, *mōr*, *mosi*, *mýrr*, *næs*, *rák*, *rá*, rjóðr?, sætr, *sandr*, sík, skáli, skeið, *skógr*, skjól, slakki, *stafr*, stakkr, *steinn*, staðr, *stigr*, *stokkr*?, stöng*, *stoð*?, tangi?, *tūn*, þorn, þorp, þang?, þveit, varða?, vaðr, *vegr*, vík, viðr, vrá.

CELTIC ELEMENTS.

Caer, carn, careg, craig, chwyn?, cnoc, pen, rhyd?, rhuddawc?.

PHONOLOGY.

As the early forms of the place-names are taken from sources of the most heterogeneous kind, written in various parts of the country and at different epochs, and as the derivations suggested are often uncertain, it seems best to give here only a few points of orthographical and phonological interest. In some cases it is the early form of the pl.n., not the modern form, which illustrates a case of sound-development.

N.B.—Square brackets enclose phonetic notation.

VOWELS.

- O.N. *ei* > M.E. *a* or *ay* (*ey*). Waberthwaite C., Blaithwaite C., Braithwaite C., Brunstock C., Crookdake C., Aikhead C., Aikton C., Anthorn C., Stainton C., Stanwix C.
 O.N. *au* > M.E. *au* or *o*. Copeland (Forest) C.
 „ *au* or *ou*. Sowerby C.
 „ *au*. Austhwaite ? C.
 O.E. *eo* > *a*. Laversdale C.
 O.N. *a* > M.E. *a* or *ay*. Laithes C.
 a > M.E. *e*. Asby.
 O.N., O.E. *y* > M.E. *u* or *i*. Langrigg C.
 O.N., O.E. *er* > *ar*. Pardshaw C., Sparket C., Tarraby C., Hartsop W., Mardale W., Marton W., Smardale W., Wharton W.
 O.N., O.E. *or* > *ur*. Murthwaite C., W., Murton C., W.
 e > *i*. Hipshow W.
 O.N., O.E. *i* > *e*. Grasmere ? W., Skirwith C.
 enc, *eng* > *inc*, *ing*. Hincaster W., Inglewood C.

CONSONANTS.

- l* > *u* before cons. Dovenby C. (early forms), Caldbeck C. (early forms), Bowness C., W., Bouscale C.
dl > *dl*. Bradley (Field) W.
ð > *d*. Wetheral (M.E.), Matterdale C.
ð > *t*. Watermillock ? C.
bt > *pt*. Lupton ? W.
 Confusion of initial *g* and [*k*]. Greystock C. (early forms), Grayrigg W. (early forms).
gt [*χt*] > *tt*. Shatton C.

[*kt*] [*χt*] > *tt*. Raughton (M.E.) C.
 [*kt*] > [*χt*]. Raughton Head (M.E.) C., Houghton C., Broughton C.
g > [*k*]. Askerton C.
f (initial) > [*p*]. Thornship ? W.
h (initial) > [*s*]. Shap ? W., Thornship ? W.
gn (initial) > *kn*. Knipe W.
ɹ > *n*. Muncaster C.

Consonant dropped.

w after cons. Brighten Flat ? C., Bewaldeth, Scarrow Hill C.
v. Ullermire C., Orton W., Uldale C., Renwick C., Oulton C.
r. Angerholme W., Boustead C., Angerton C., (Crosby) Garrett W.
l. Oulton C., Ousby C.
t. Harker C.
d. Bomby W., Etterby C., Alby (Field) C.
h (initial). Unthank C., Upmanby C., Uzzacre C., Addingham C.,
 Hayton C. (early forms), Heathery (Fauld) ? C. (early
 forms), Hensingham (early forms) C., Lyth W., Upperby C.
k. Asby.

Consonant added.

h (initial). Armathwaite (early forms) C., Hoff ? W.
nr > *ndr*. Ennerdale (early forms).
ml > *mb*. Embleton C.
lr > *ldr*. Coulderton C., Allerdale C. (early form).
nt > *mt* > *mpt*. Bampton C., Brampton C., Santon C. (early form).
 Metathesis of *r*. Briscoe C., Brough ? W., Burnside ? W.

Assimilation.

n(d)b > *mb*. Bomby W.
l(w)r > *rr*. Scarrow (Hill) C.
nf > *mf*, *mpf*. Bromfield C.
fb > *bb*. Cliburn W. (early form) W.

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